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AMERICAN LITERATURE—A WRITER'S CONFESSIONS.

SOMETHING about my books and why I wrote them—is that it? Well, I don't know—there is not another writer in the world, perhaps, whose books are so little to it, and yet are so much to him. The reason of that is because there is so much of myself in them. In fact, it was because I had a sort of longing to express myself that I ever wrote a book at all. Unfortunately, that first one pleased me so much that I wrote another—several more—and for the same reason, I think.

I see that Julian Hawthorne still questions if there is an American literature. Well, that depends upon what may be called American. A race is formed by its surroundings; a folk inhabit a country till the region, giving as it could to human beings, has stamped itself upon their nature's minds and forms till they become

its product, its children—a race with characteristics slowly to be changed by a change of habitat. The race is unconscious of its peculiarities, till it can contrast itself with other races.

It took two hundred years to change Englishmen to Americans. Indeed, Washington, Adams and Franklin called themselves Englishmen; fought, thought and acted much as selected Englishmen always have done. So our first great writers, Irving, Cooper, Bryant, were still a good deal English. A race, as I said, lives, breathes and speaks itself, unconscious of its peculiarities; does things English, French, German, because it can do no other way. Now, what makes an American book? Of course, none but an American writes an American book. When the theme is American and it is written in the uncon-

scious, American way, it is American. Have we reached that mental stage of race where the continent has so impressed itself upon us that unconsciously we live, breathe, think and speak American, and not English? I think so most decidedly; so much so, that the younger of our authors, of many American born generations, can write no other than American books, no matter what may be the subject dealt with. Take Henry James, reproached as being English: he is one of the most intense of American writers—can deal with things only as Americans can, and is a specimen of what the American mind, for subtlety of play, delicacy of touch and refinement of methods, can become. You know that I was of that New England colony, settled in the Ohio woods—"New Connecticut," as the natives of that state were fond of calling it—and you know the very latest thing that colonists produce is a literature. We were long reproached by the old world for lack of native literature. Did the French and English in Canada, Louisiana, the Spanish in Mexico or South America, do any better? Or did the Greek and Roman colonies? Well, no matter about colonial literature, though it leads to what you ask of me.

With no thought of colonial writers, I contrasted our Reserve region with the southern part of the state and Kentucky, where was, as seemed to me, quite a literature. True, some of us wrote lines of dubious measure, beginning with capitals, and our little papers printed them. When we severally came to discretion, we quit that, of course, and nothing followed. I put myself very well on paper; wrote political leaders for the *Cleveland Herald* and

early New York *Tribune*; also for the predecessor of the *Cleveland Leader*—for the smaller country papers; knew I could write a novel, but never had attempted the shortest story, though romances innumerable were weaving themselves in my brain. Few men have ever so intensely loved every outdoor thing, from birds and trees to hills and streams, as did I. Exquisite Newbury was my first and strongest love; then Mantua, where I lived from twelve to past fifteen; then Auburn, between them; Russell west, Monson north, and oldest Burton east of it.

I was a year at the old Painesville academy; went to Chardon, knew every hill and hollow from Fairport to Ravenna, from Chardon to Warren, on all the ways to Cleveland. Had been on the branches of the Chagrin ere the lovely woods were cut away. How intensely I loved them I never knew, till cut off from them partly by the fourteen years of awfully hard work in Cleveland. There is a high outlook over Russell to far-off Newbury, from a road running east from Cleveland through Orange, and many and many a time have I driven from Cleveland to that point to feed my eyes, my homesick longing, with a sight of the Newbury woods. It was only after my removal to Washington that I came to fully realize my passionate love for that beautiful region.

It alway seemed to me not a great achievement to write an average good novel. I often said so, and when challenged, as I often was, answered that I would write one. The thought to do it came very suddenly in April of 1872, in a fit of longing to revisit dear, old, long-deserted Newbury. It should be restored,

relied, as in my opening manhood, and so I wrote 'Bart Ridgley.' It opens with an incident which happened to me on my return from Xenia, only I was carried across the river, and then walked home. Well, I bought a large blank-book and began. I really found little trouble. Though Bart Ridgley was a pure fiction, the poor fellow lived my life and shouldered up my faults, while his excellencies, his genius, his love and its reward were his own. I can never do anything except under mental excitement. I always get off somewhere for work, and wash my eyes before being seen again. This attends all my work, no matter how dull a reader or a hearer finds it; nor do I attempt to form any opinion of my written work till I see it in print, and then the old glamour is apt to return.

When that thing was nearly completed the idea first came to have it printed, and then I turned back, mended and tied the gaps, struck out one chapter, which I always regretted, left two or three names which should have been struck out (everybody went by his proper name), and in August, while at Indian Neck, I went to Boston, one day, and put my book, as it was, into my friend Crocker's hands. He was the founder and editor of the *Literary World*.

While running through the press, the awful Boston fire burnt about forty pages of the manuscript. They sent me the last page before the hiatus and the first of that which escaped. I had not seen the book for six months. I was defending Barney Wood for an awful murder. Well, the mail, the next morning, carried forty pages, more or less, to Boston, but Barney

Wood was hanged—the first and last of my clients to receive that exaltation.

When the book—a handsome volume of 374 pages—reached me, clean, bright, fragrant, it was a sore disappointment and soon became a great surprise. I dipped into it here and there—it seemed flat, thin, dead. I put it by for two or three days, then I bravely sat down to it. It soon came back bright and tender. The surprise was at the universal favor—applause—with which the public, the critics, received it. The publishers were a small house, but the book took care of itself and did much for the house. It was published without my name, but men and women found me out, and I must have received two hundred or three hundred letters—of course, most friendly. One of the foremost Americans wrote me that a friend put it in his hands as he was starting for a long railroad journey; that he entered upon it and so entirely did it reveal to him his own inner self, so truthfully sketch his own struggles and sufferings at the same age, that he was entirely overcome, and he laid his head on the back of the seat in front of him and gave way to a gush of tears. "Bart Ridgley," said he, "is what every right-minded youth would gladly become—is what every old man will recognize as his own young ideal, and he feels the absolute truthfulness of the struggles he passed through." "No woman, old or young," wrote a lady, till then unknown to me, "can read the book without loving Bart and blessing the author for his creation." A party of Chicagoans, ladies and gentlemen, on a return from California, fell in with Captain Phelps. They had the book and were

glad he knew the writer. In the glow of the hour they arranged with him to meet them on the shores of Punderson's pond, where he promised to present the author of the book. Indeed, Bart did much for that little lake.

As I told you, next to Newbury, I was attached to Mantua, ten miles south. A curious incident occurred to me there, at the Harmons, around which other things rapidly grouped themselves. They were Disciples, converts of Sidney Rigdon. The Snows were of the same church, as were Simonds Ryder and the Rudolfs over in Hiram. There too lived the Johnsons, while Ezra Boothe lived just across the road in the middle of a large apple orchard, thirty rods from the Harmons. The Mormons—Joseph Smith, Rigdon and others—came to Hiram. They held a famous meeting at the old South school-house. I knew them all, knew the Campbells, and later, when I left Mantua for Newbury, I was at Kirtland and witnessed the Sabbath worship in the new temple. Was at the trial of Joseph Smith for attempting the murder of Newell, and of all these was born 'The Portrait'—a good book with a bad name. When the idea of it came I began to write—some of it at the house, some at my law office. I wrote every spare half hour. I placed the date of the day and numbered the pages written that day, and so on. I neglected no work and wrote two entire Sundays. When finished, the pages bore twenty-one days, and I rewrote the nine last pages. Of course no finished, or really very good work, was ever accomplished under such conditions. Well, I alway thought the book in

many ways better than 'Bart Ridgley.' Few agreed with me. It was very popular with the Disciples, and Mr. Hayden's history of that church quotes the description of the great meeting in the maple woods of Aurora as historic—as it was—and literally describes what I saw. As in Bart, I took the folk I knew and called them by their own names—changing Harman to Carman only. This was in 1874. The next year appeared 'Alice Brand,' a story of Washington life at the close of the war—a stronger book than either of the others, but unpleasant. It was supposed to have overdrawn and overcolored the doings at the capital of those evil and lurid days. I am in possession of many assurances of men and women of the highest position, then in society and official life, of the fidelity of my limning, and more than one distinguished writer has accepted my character of the then President as true. The next thing, MS. was offered the Appletons, accepted, delayed and then by me withdrawn. It was a story of New York society of thirty years ago. I sent it to my friend Crocker, enclosed him a fair fee to read and give me his opinion of it. He found some of it very good, as a whole bad—worse than bad. Poor fellow! he was dying of dyspepsia, and wrote me a savage letter, which he lived just long enough to apologize for. The book was doubtless bad. It was also good. I re-wrote it perhaps more than once. My friend Andrews, of accurate literary judgment, read and took it to Osgood, who promised to read it. Mr. Andrews thinks he returned it without performing that labor. He then took the book to a New York house, which promised to publish

it. Later, the house wrote me asking a guaranty for the sale of a very large edition. I ordered the MS. back and have it yet. It was never again offered.

Well, I kept on writing all the same. There are at least four complete novels of early Western Reserve life, and a fifth, 'Clifton,' a story of the aristocratic set who settled Painesville, quite as good as anything I can do. None of these were offered. Then 'Castle Gregory,' 'Hart and His Bear,' 'The Young Sugar Makers,' some of the world have seen; also three poems which provoked various critiques.

Meantime my yearning for the old days and diminishing woods found expression in a dozen or more stories of various lengths, largely published in the *Leader* and other northern Ohio papers. Of these I selected five, which make up the 'House of Ross.' The publication of this volume was by the Boston publishers of 'Bart

Ridgley.' I undertook to make up the loss, if any. Well, it was a full year behind the announcement. The house claimed a loss; never sent me an account of it, and though I owned the plates of Bart, it never accounted but for first sales, and that at ten per cent. instead of fifteen. Bart continues to sell.

Then, you know, I've published 'Students and Lawyers,' a 'Life of Garfield' and one of 'B. F. Wade,' all kindly received. I've never sent anything to a literary magazine. Have never received a dime for a short story. I only wished to be read by the diminishing public of my youth and early manhood. I have lots of this sort of stuff, but no paper would now care to cumber its space with it, and I doubt whether any would care to read it.

A. G. RIDDLE.

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE.

I.

LINNÆUS, when he told his scholars that there were more wonders and mysteries in the turf covered by his foot than the longest life of the most laborious botanist would suffice to describe or to explain, made what to some would seem an extravagant assertion; but the naturalist knows that the details of creation are inexhaustible; and when one reads the life and works of Nathaniel Hawthorne, and tries, in the time allotted to him here, to do justice to the rarest genius America has given to literature, he realizes the difficulty encountered by one who attempts in a much longer time to examine the works of Nathaniel Hawthorne, whose works, in their peculiar character, are not excelled in the literature of the present day, or of the English language.

This admirable author was born in Salem, Massachusetts, July 4, 1804, and is of a family which for several generations followed the sea; a gray-haired ship-master in each generation retiring from the quarter-deck to the homestead, while a boy of fourteen took the hereditary place before the mast, confronting the salt spray and the gale which had blustered against his sire and grandsire. Among his ancestors, I believe, was the "Bold Hawthorne," who is celebrated in a revolutionary ballad as commander of the *Fair American*. The Hawthornes came from England in the early part of the

seventeenth century, and took part in the persecution of the Quakers and the witches. His father died at sea when he was about four years old. His mother, whose name was Manning, was a beautiful woman, with remarkable eyes, full of sensibility and expression, and a person of singular purity of mind. Her grief at her husband's death was hardly mitigated by time, and for the rest of her life she lived a mourner in absolute solitude. Those who knew the family describe the son's affection for her as of the deepest and tenderest nature, and they remember that when she died his grief was almost insupportable.

James T. Field says:

Nathaniel Hawthorne, who lately sojourned in this busy world of ours, but during many years of his life

"Wandered lonely as a cloud,"

was a man who had, so to speak, a physical affinity with solitude. The writings of this author have never soiled the public mind with one unlovely image. His men and women have a magic of their own, and we shall wait a long time before another arises among us to take his place. I remember to have heard, in the literary circles of Great Britain, that since Burns, no author had appeared there with a finer face than Hawthorne's. I happened to be in London with Hawthorne during his consular residence in England, and was always greatly delighted at the rustle of admiration his personal appearance excited when he entered a room. His bearing was modestly grand, and his voice touched the ear like a melody.

He was a pleasant child, quite hand-

some, with golden curls; his eyes were dark blue, brilliant and full of varied expression. Bayard Taylor used to say "that they were the only eyes he had ever known to flash." While he was yet in college, an old gypsy woman meeting him suddenly in a woodland path, gazed at him and asked, "Are you a man or an angel?" While a child, and as soon almost as he began to read, the authors he most delighted in were Shakespeare, Milton, Pope and Thomson. The first book he bought with his own money was a copy of Spenser's 'Faerie Queen.' When he was six years old his favorite book was Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress;' and then when he went to visit his grandmother Hawthorne, he used to take the only family copy to a large chair in the corner of the room near a window and read it by the hour, without once speaking. When he could scarcely speak plain, the little fellow would go about the house, repeating with vehement emphasis and gestures, certain stagey lines from Shakespeare's 'Richard III.,' which he had overheard from older persons about him; one line in particular made a great impression upon him, and he would start up on the most unexpected occasions and fire off in his loudest tones:

"Stand back, my lord, and let the coffin pass!"

In 1820 *The Spectator*, edited by N. Hawthorne, neatly written in printed letters by the editor's own hand, appeared. Six numbers only were published. The following subjects were discussed: "On Solitude," "The End of the Year," "On Industry," "On Benevolence," "On Autumn," "On Health," "On Hope," "On Courage." In one of the numbers

he apologizes that no deaths of any importance have taken place in the town. Under the head of births he gives the following news: "The lady of Dr. Winthrop Brown, a son and heir. Mrs. Hawthorne's cat, seven kittens. We hear that both of the above ladies are in a state of convalescence." One of the literary advertisements reads: "Blank-books made and for sale by N. Hawthorne." At seventeen he entered Bowdoin college. When he returned home after his collegiate studies, a lady says, "He was a most noticeable person; never going into society; deeply engaged reading everything he could lay his hands on." It was said in those days that he had read every book in the Atheneum library in Salem. When a child, and before he had printed any of his stories, a lady remembers that she used to sit on his knee and lean her head on his shoulder, while by the hour he would fascinate her with delightful legends, much more wonderful and beautiful than any she had ever read in printed books.

Rev. Dr. Cheever, Henry W. Longfellow and Franklin Pierce, afterward President of the United States, were his classmates in college; the latter was his most intimate friend. He says of himself: "I was an idle student, negligent of college rules and old Procrustean details of academic life, rather choosing to nurse my own fancies than to dig into Greek roots and be numbered among the learned Thebans." He wrote to his mother:

I have not concluded what profession I shall have. The being of a minister is, of course, out of the question. I should not think you would ever desire me to choose so dull a way of life. Oh, no, mother! I was not born to vegetate forever in one

place, and to live and die as calm and tranquil as a puddle of water. As to lawyers, there are so many of them already, that one-half of them are in a state of actual starvation. A physician then seems to be "Hobson's choice;" but yet I should not like to live by the diseases and infirmities of my fellow-creatures, and it would weigh very heavy upon my conscience in the course of my practice if I should chance to send any unlucky patient *ad inferum*, which, being interpreted, is to the realms below. Oh, that I was rich enough to live without a profession! What do you think of my becoming an author and relying for support upon my pen? Indeed, I think the illegibility of my handwriting is very author-like. How proud you would feel to see my works praised by the reviewers as equal to the proudest productions of scribbling John Bulls! But authors are always poor devils, and therefore Satan may take them. I am in the same predicament as the honest gentleman in 'Esperiella's Letters':

"I am an Englishman, and naked I stand here,
A-nursing in my mind what garment I shall wear."

In 1837 Mr. Hawthorne published the first, and in 1842 the second volume of his 'Twice Told Tales,' so named because they had previously appeared in the periodicals. Mr. Longfellow pronounced it the work of a man of genius and of a true poet; but it attracted but little attention from the general public. Discerning readers, however, recognized the supreme beauty in the new writer, and they never after lost sight of him.

In 1838 Hawthorne was appointed by George Bancroft, now the great historian, and then collector of the port of Boston, to the place of weigher and gauger, and he performed the disagreeable duties to the satisfaction of all, and was a great favorite with the sailors. Think of the great romancer working with all his might in such employment! But we remember that Burns had similar employment in the custom-house at Edinburgh. Mr. Field says when there was a change of

politics at the head of the government, he tried to have the author of the 'Twice Told Tales' continued in office. One pompous little gentleman in authority, after hearing my appeal, quite astonished me by his ignorance of the claims of a literary man on his country: "Yes, yes," he sarcastically croaked down his public, turtle-fed throat, "I see through it all; I see through it; this Hawthorne is one of them 'ere visionists, and we don't want no such man as him round." It is well for him and the world that he was not allowed to hold the petty office, and the best thing for American letters that could possibly have happened. After dismissal from the custom-house, he said that he made an investment in ink, paper and steel pens, opened his long disused writing-desk and was again a literary man, and came to the conclusion that everything was for the best. "I thought," said he, "as I was not a politician, my own prospect of retaining office was better than were those of my Democratic brethren. But who can see an inch into futurity beyond his nose? My own head was the first to fall. The moment a man's head drops off is seldom or never, I am inclined to think, precisely the most agreeable of his life." The real human being all this time, with his head safely on his shoulders, had brought himself to the comfortable conclusion that everything was for the best.

This office was his sole support, and now he was obliged to take up authorship for his livelihood. Mr. Hawthorne came into his house, after he had been superseded at the custom-house, with a humorous smile in his eyes, and said: "Well, Sophie, my head is off, so I must

begin to write a book; but what puzzles me is, how we are to live while the book is writing." "Oh, wait until you see how economical I have been," replied his wife. Whereupon she unlocked a drawer and presented to her astonished husband a roll of bills amounting to one hundred and fifty dollars, being the accumulation of her savings out of the money he had from time to time given her for house-keeping.

Hawthorne married Miss Sophie Peabody, who was a remarkable woman and a great help in every way to him; he could never have been the man he was without such a companion; it is not often that two such poetic temperaments unite their fortunes for life. Miss Peabody, her sister, gives an interesting account of their first meeting. The Hawthornes and Peabodys lived near to each other in Salem, Massachusetts. The former lived secluded, spending most of their time reading and in solitary walks. Hawthorne's mother was a widow; and it was considered, at that time, a mark of piety and good taste for a widow to withdraw herself from the world. Miss Peabody says:

It was a difficult matter to establish visiting relations with so eccentric a household. After two or three years Mr. Hawthorne and his sister called on us. It was in the evening; I was alone in the dining-room, but Sophie, who was still an invalid, was in her chamber. As soon as I could I ran up-stairs to her, and said, "Oh, Sophie, you must get up and dress and come down; the Hawthornes are here, and you never saw anything so splendid as he is—he is handsomer than Lord Byron." She laughed, but refused to come, remarking that since he had called once he would call again. As he became interested in conversation, his sensitive shyness and his nervousness passed away, and the beauty of the outline of his features, the pure complexion, the

wonderful eyes, like mountain lakes reflecting the sky, were quite in keeping with the 'Twice Told Tales.' He did call again, as Sophie had predicted, not long afterwards; and this time she came down, in her simple white wrapper, and sat on the sofa. As I said, "My sister Sophie," he rose and looked at her intently—he did not realize how intently. As he went on talking, she would frequently interrupt a remark, in her low, sweet voice. Every time she did so, he would look at her again, with the same piercing, indrawing gaze. I was struck with it, and thought, what if he should fall in love with her; and the thought troubled me; for she had often told me that nothing would ever tempt her to marry and inflict on her husband the care of an invalid. She had never been free from a terrible headache from her infancy.

Mrs. Hawthorne, in telling her children, many years afterwards, of these first meetings with their father, used to say that his presence, from the very beginning, exercised so strong a magnetic attraction upon her, that instinctively, and in self-defense, as it were, she drew back and repelled him. The power which she felt in him alarmed her; she did not understand what it meant, and was only able to feel that she must resist. By degrees, however, her resistance was overcome; and in the end she realized that they had loved each other at first sight. Hawthorne wrote to her sister, "She is a flower to be worn in man's bosom, but was lent from Heaven to show the possibilities of the human soul." At another time he said to her sister Mary, he wished he could have intercourse with some beautiful children—beautiful little girls; he did not care for boys. Miss Peabody said to Sophie, "What a beautiful smile he has!" You know in 'Annie's Ramble' he says that if there is anything he prides himself upon, it is on having a smile that children love. Sophie Peabody was Haw-

thorne's true guardian and recreating angel. The acknowledgment between them of their mutual love took place about the time of the custom-house appointment, and furnished an object and a spur for his labors. His mother opposed the union. She could never endure the thought of his marrying a woman who was a victim of constant nervous headaches. She consented to let the engagement continue only with the understanding that she should recover from her twenty years' illness. "If God intends us to marry," she said to him, "He will let me be cured; if not, it will be a sign that it is not best." Miracle or not, however, the cure was actually accomplished, and the two were united, and the lovers were justified in believing that love himself was the physician. His mother said to him, "Sophie Peabody is the wife of all others whom I would have chosen for you."

Someone says, "What a high contrast the lives of Nathaniel Hawthorne and Sophie Peabody present to those of Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welch!" If one does not think that genius is compatible with domestic bliss, let him study the life of Hawthorne. Here is one of his love-letters:

DEAREST—I wish I had the gift of making rhymes, for methinks there is poetry in my head and heart since I have been in love with you. You are a poem. Of what sort then? Epic? Mercy on me, no. A sonnet? No. For that is too labored and artificial. You are a sort of sweet, simple, gay, pathetic ballad, where nature is singing sometimes with tears, sometimes with smiles, and sometimes intermingled smiles and tears.

In 1846 he published 'Mosses From an Old Manse,' a second collection of his magazine papers. In this book he gives

delightful glimpses of his personal history. In 1843 he went to reside in the pleasant village of Concord, in the old manse, which had never been profaned by a lay occupant until he entered it as his home. In the introduction of 'Mosses From the Old Manse,' he says:

A priest had built it; a priest had succeeded to it; other priestly men, from time to time, had dwelt in it; and children, born in its chambers, had grown up to assume the priestly character. It was awful to reflect how many sermons must have been written there. The latest inhabitant alone—he by whose translation to paradise the dwelling was left vacant—had penned nearly three thousand discourses, besides the better, if not the greater number, that gushed living from his lips. How often, no doubt, had he paced to and fro along the avenue, attuning his meditations to the sighs and gentle murmurs and deep and solemn peals of the wind among the lofty tops of the trees! In that variety of natural utterances, he could find something accordant with every passage of his sermon, were it of tenderness or reverential fear. The boughs over my head seemed shadowy with solemn thoughts, as well as with rustling leaves. I took shame to myself for having been so long a writer of idle stories, and ventured to hope that wisdom would descend upon me with the falling leaves of the avenue; and that I should light upon an intellectual treasure in the old manse, well worth those hoards of long-hidden gold which people seek for in moss-grown houses. Profound treatises of morality; a layman's unprofessional, and therefore unprejudiced views of religion; histories (such as Bancroft might have written, had he taken up his abode here, as he once purposed), bright with picture, gleaming over a depth of philosophic thought—these were the works that might fitly have flowed from such a retirement. In the humblest event, I resolved at least to achieve a novel that should evolve some deep lesson, and should possess physical substance enough to stand alone. In furtherance of my design, and as if to leave me no pretext for not fulfilling it, there was, in the rear of the house, the most delightful little nook of a study that ever afforded its snug seclusion to a scholar. It was here that Emerson wrote 'Nature'; for he was then an inhabitant of the manse, and used to watch the Assyrian dawn and Paphian sunset and moonrise, from the summit of our eastern hill.

When I first saw the room, its walls were blackened with the smoke of unnumbered years, and made still blacker by the grim prints of puritan ministers that hung around. These worthies looked strangely like bad angels, or, at least, like men who had wrestled so continually and so sternly with the devil, that somewhat of his sooty fierceness had been imparted to their own visages. They had all vanished now; a cheerful coat of paint, and golden-tinted paper-bangings, lighted up the small apartment; while the shadow of a willow-tree, that swept against the overhanging eaves, attempered the cheery western sunshine. In place of the grim prints there was the sweet and lovely head of one of Raphael's Madonnas, and two pleasant little pictures of the Lake of Como. The only other decorations were a purple vase of flowers, always fresh, and a bronze one containing graceful ferns. My books (few, and by no means choice, for they were chiefly such waifs as chance had thrown in my way) stood in order about the room, seldom to be disturbed.

In his home at Concord, thus happily described, in the midst of a few congenial friends, Hawthorne passed three years; and "in a spot so sheltered from the turmoil of life's ocean," he says, "three years hasten away with a noiseless flight, as the breezy sunshine chases the cloud-shadows across the depths of a still valley." But at length his repose was invaded by that "spirit of improvement" which is so constantly marring the happiness of quiet-loving people, and he was compelled to look out for another residence.

Now came hints, growing more and more distinct, that the owner of the old house was pining for his native air. Carpenters next appeared, making a tremendous racket among the outbuildings, strewing the green grass with pine shavings and chips of chestnut joists, and vexing the whole antiquity of the place with their discordant renovations. Soon, moreover, they divested our abode of the veil of woodbine which had crept over a large portion of its southern face. All the aged mosses were cleared unsparingly away; and there were horrible whispers about brushing up the external walls with a coat of

paint—a purpose as little to my taste as might be that of rouging the venerable cheeks of one's grandmother. But the hand that renovates is always more sacrilegious than that which destroys. In fine, we gathered up our household goods, drank a farewell cup of tea in our pleasant little breakfast-room—delicately fragrant tea, an unpurchasable luxury, one of the many angel-gifts that had fallen like dew upon us—and passed forth between the tall stone gateposts, as uncertain as the wandering Arabs where our tent might next be pitched. Providence took me by the hand, and—an oddity of dispensation which, I trust, there is no irreverence in smiling at—has led me, as the newspapers announce while I am writing, from the old manse into a custom-house! As a story-teller I have often contrived strange vicissitudes for my imaginary personages, but none like this. The treasure of intellectual gold, which I hoped to find in our secluded dwelling, had never come to light. No profound treatise of ethics—no philosophic history—no novel, even, that could stand unsupported on its edges—all that I had to show, as a man of letters, were these few tales and essays, which had blossomed out like flowers in the calm summer of my heart and mind.

When he was turned out of office in 1841, he went to live at Brook farm, a sort of Foureite community. Ripley originated this transcendental and socialistic community, and Dana, Dwight, Channing, Parker and other literary men supported it as well as Hawthorne. His experience there was not a success, and he wrote afterward, the chief advantage it brought him was, that it taught him how to plant corn and squashes, and buy and sell at the produce market; and that it provided him with an invaluable background for his 'Blithedale Romance.' All the money he had saved in the custom-house he sunk in this community. He said of Brook farm: "The self-conscious philanthropist; the high-spirited woman bruising herself against the narrow limitations of her sex; the weakly maiden whose tremulous nerves endow

her with syballine attributes ; the minor poet beginning life with strenuous aspirations which die out with his youthful fervor—all these might be looked for at

Brook farm, but by some accident never appeared there."

FRANCIS C. SESSIONS.

THE FIRST TEACHER IN MINNESOTA.

SINCE the article published in the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, in January, about the first teacher in Minnesota, I have received from an old friend in Columbus, Ohio, Mr. Prosper M. Wetmore, a volume written by Miss Harriet E. Bishop, the teacher, and published by Messrs. Sheldon, Blakeman & Co., New York, 1857, entitled 'A Floral Home, or First Years in Minnesota.' This is an interesting volume, and tells of small beginnings and "the day of small things" in that now marvelous state.

In the first chapter of her book Miss Bishop, I think, truly says :

Had the same Providence which wafted the *Mayflower* to Plymouth rock directed its course into the Gulf of Mexico and thence up the windings of the Mississippi into the regions of vast prairies and natural gardens, the forests of New England would be still standing, and no cities, mighty in influence, would have risen from their fall. The red man would still lurk in the dark recesses of those forests, pursuing his game without fear of molestation, and the smoke of his wigwam and council fires would ascend from the ground where his fathers had dwelt and held their council.

I can but believe this is literally true. No emigrants would have ever gone from the rich lands of the south, or from the fertile and productive prairies of the west, to the cold, inhospitable, icy and rugged climate and generally sterile, rocky and unproductive soil of New England. It

would today have been the hunting-ground of the red man instead of the work-shop and the pleasure-ground of the Union.

It appears to me that there have been four great events in human history : The exodus of the Jews from Egypt, the birth of the Saviour of mankind, the going of Luther to the Diet at Worms and the landing of the Pilgrims of the *Mayflower*, at Plymouth. How far-reaching and eternal the influences of these four events or advents upon human history have been and are to be !

The advent of Miss Harriet E. Bishop, a young New England woman, with faith for her guide and in God her trust, was only another and less important event in our history, whose influence will reach through all time. Prairie du Chien, on the Father of Waters, was settled by a few French traders the same year that William Penn and his followers landed and commenced a settlement at Philadelphia. The traders at Prairie du Chien were of a different faith from the settlers at Philadelphia. The one acknowledged obedience to Rome in all things, temporal as well as spiritual ; the Friends acknowledged allegiance only to the "King of kings." The one made converts ; the other built school-houses,

disseminated the great truths of the Bible and established colleges. The one was content with darkness; the other loved light. What was the result? Miss Bishop did more for common education in two months on the Mississippi than the French Catholics had done in two centuries!

How truly Miss Bishop estimated the character and valued the part that woman was to perform in laying the foundations of society, let this extract from her pen witness:

Women, in all states of society and in all ages of the world, have had a part to perform, an all-important part, known only in its results. . . . Those who were earliest in Minnesota and who lived more in the future than the present, were indeed blessings to their companions. Even since the writer's introduction into the territory it has been said most emphatically that a "unit added to the female population was virtually of more importance than a whole cargo of the sterner sex."

AT WORK.

Upon a commanding bluff of the Mississippi, scattered here and there, were some half-dozen decayed and decaying log hovels, chinked with mud, and every way of the meanest appearance. . . . They were low French and half-breeds. . . . The appellation of "Pig's Eye" had been given to the settlement, in honor of an important citizen with one eye. . . . Recently a christening service dignified the settlement with the name of St. Paul. . . . During my first journeyings westward I was frequently advised to retrace my steps, as "dangers and perhaps cruel death" awaited my *debut* among the bloody Indians. One individual, *en route* east from a visit to the Falls of St. Anthony, knew, positively, there was no such place as St. Paul. There was, he said, a miserable little trading-post called "Pig's Eye," but no white woman could live there.

The journeyings of Miss Bishop from Cleveland to St. Paul, by stage, by railroad, by steamboat on the Ohio and Mississippi and by canoe seventeen hundred

miles; her many adventures; her determination to accomplish her one purpose in the far northwest—establish a common school for the education of all children; her reception by the missionary and Indian men, women and children in their paint and grease and dirt; the advice of the captain of a little steamer, "to kiss all the papooses and thereby secure the friendship of the Indians," "and not to let them scalp me;" her landing where her life work was to commence amidst doubt and darkness, but her heroic trust in the brightness of the unshadowed future; her first Sabbath in her new home; the thoughts of friends far towards the "rising sun" in their houses of worship, but with no desire to return; happy in the rugged path she had chosen, and feeling that an "unseen hand" was leading her in the path of duty, are all described with graphic power and full of intense interest.

Of the Indian, as she saw him, she says:

Instinct, more than reason, is the guide of the red man. He repudiates improvement and despises manual labor. . . . The blanket, as worn by the Indian, is a formidable barrier to his advance in arts or agriculture. When this is forever dispensed with, then his hands will be free to grasp the mechanic's tools or guide the plow.

There are whole volumes of important truths in these words of the Yankee girl. "A man who wears a blanket" can never become a farmer, a mechanic or a good workman at anything. Take off the Indian's blanket, give him some land, a team, a plow and a hoe, and make him "root hog or die." He has been fed and blanketed as a loafer too long. He has no more right to the land over which he roams for game

than the horse, the deer, the buffalo and the bear. "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread."

Entering upon duty, all things were now ready at St. Paul.

Day had dawned in the natural world, but in my life, the dreams and yearnings of my childhood had now reached the dawn of fruition, and hope was by my side to tell of coming scenes. . . . The youthful crowd welcomed me to their homes and hearts. Nor were my emotions less pleasing when I "learned to stoop," and entered that memorable mud-walled log hovel, a primitive blacksmith shop, where the young minds were to receive impressions for immortality. . . . Some wooden pins had been driven into the logs, across which rough boards were placed for seats. The luxury of a chair was awarded to the teacher. A cross-legged table occupied the centre of the loose floor. . . . Soon all was bright and joyous. Fragrant evergreens concealed the rude walls with their mud chinkings, and even the bark roof. A hen, unwilling to relinquish her claim, daily placed a token of her industry in the corner, and made all merry with her loud cackle. Snakes sometimes obtruded their heads through the floor; rats looked in at the open door, and dark faces were continually at the windows.

This was the first public school in the territory of Minnesota, and this the log-house and room in which the first common school was taught by the first teacher, Miss Harriet E. Bishop, July, 1847. At the commencement of her labor of love, she says:

Why should I pine for halls of science and literature, when such glorious privileges were mine—when to my weak hand was accorded the work of rearing the fabric of educational interests in the unorganized territory, of establishing the first citizen school within its undefined limits.

On the Sabbath following, July 25, 1847, Miss Bishop, single-handed, established the first Sunday-school in Minnesota. There were seven scholars—three white children and four half-breeds—and one visitor, a half-breed woman. Says another writer:

Through the personal efforts of Miss Bishop, by walking nearly a mile every Sabbath morning during the winter to the little building, made a fire and waited for the half-frozen little ones to come to the Sunday-school. She kept up the school, without fee or reward, for a year, unassisted, in an almost wilderness.

During the first year, the first school-house had been built, and the very few emigrants had become interested in having their children taught, and Miss Bishop writes:

Not the shadow of a "cloud as big as a man's hand" fell upon my heart, however dark my path. Sickness prostrated; but kind hands smoothed the pillow, leaving no actual want unsupplied.

There was a ludicrous as well as serious side to life in the new settlement. Miss Bishop gives an amusing description of an offer of marriage from an "Indian brave" in St. Paul. He was gotten up in the most approved style, regardless of expense—calico shirt, cloth leggings, breechlet and blanket, huge brass bracelet, scoured to an unwonted brightness, bear's claw, silver ear-drops, finger rings, wampum about his neck, etc., etc. After smoking a highly ornamented pipe and passing it around, he talked in unknown tongue. But a good woman came to the rescue. He said: "Say to 'Woa-wau-pa Wa-ma-da-ka' that she must be my wife." In vain it was urged that he had one wife. He promised that she should have the best corner of the lodge; the dark squaw should pack the wood and water, plant and hoe the corn—white squaw ride by my side—dark squaw carry the game, set the "tepee," cook the food, hush the papoose, and white squaw eat with me. "I was incorrigible. He wound up in pressing his suit by 'begging a dollar to buy a new shirt.' The next time I

saw him, Osceola was howling in loathsome drunkenness. After this he frequently expressed his contempt for squaws, and white squaws in particular." He took his departure some six years after with his tribe toward the "Setting Sun."

If time and space would admit, I should like to follow the narrative of Miss Bishop of the building of the first school-house, for school, for court-house, for church, occasional lectures, elections, and all public gatherings; and an expenditure of three hundred dollars for a building twenty-five by thirty feet would be all that would be needed for at least ten years.

Just one year from my arrival, the building was declared "finished," and I was on the bed of lingering sickness. A few weeks of careful nursing at the mission below St. Paul, and a trip to Galena, fitted me to return in comparative health to my home and labors, where I found valuable acquisitions to our society, and with double zest, I entered upon my duties in the new school-room.

In the autumn of 1847 St. Paul had increased from three to six families. What an important part woman has acted in all the affairs of life! In the first school-house built at St. Paul, Miss Bishop tells us that the first payment for the lumber was made with money earned with the needle by the ladies of the "St. Paul Circle of Industry." In 1848 Miss Amanda Hosford from Wisconsin, and in 1849 Miss Mary A. Scofield, were teachers in the new territory, to whom Miss Bishop pays compliments.

Miss Bishop tells us at a very early day "the worm of the still" was doing its work of death. The first victim was a woman, a mother, who died of delirium tremens. The next, an Indian, stabbed in a drunken affray. The third, an Indian,

murdered at the door of a dying woman. The fourth, a young man, gentlemanly, affable and intelligent, of fine address, frozen to death on the open prairie, where he wandered when under the influence of "fire-water." This last sad death moved the people, and a "Total Abstinence Society" was formed March 9, 1848. The first temperance address by Rev. Mr. Gear, chaplain of the garrison, thirty signatures to the pledge. Then the cry was in a few months raised, "We must have the Maine law." On the first day of April, 1851, it was carried by the people at the polls! And then the law was repealed, and rum was master. Miss Bishop says on the night of the repeal a large bell was mounted on wheels and paraded through the streets, the followers shouting death to temperance principles. Then was wanted a Catholic, Bishop Ireland, to wage war against the "saloons," as he is doing now in Minnesota. The Father Mathew of the west! Heaven bless him in his labor of love!

This fact, stated by Miss Bishop, will show how far away she drifted from civilization in 1847. She says for five months after she went to St. Paul, she never heard a sermon, and the only voice heard in prayer to "Our Father in Heaven" was her own in the meetings of the Sunday-school. How many heroines have there been, and are, without fame in this world, who deserve riches in that "Temple that Shines Afar!" They have no memorable tablets, no statues here, but they

"Have raised monuments above the stars,
Souls led by their efforts and their prayers to God."

Miss Bishop in her book gives much credit and speaks in terms of praise of the

early missionaries and their wives, and the first teachers, women and men, who located and labored in all good work on the Upper Mississippi. She lived to see the fruit of her labors, to see "the wilderness blossom like the rose" and the "little one become a great one." There must be

people in St. Paul who remember her with feelings of affection and respect.

Mr. Wetmore writes me, he heard that Miss Bishop married a Baptist minister, and died some two years ago. Blessed be her memory!

JAMES A. BRIGGS.

DOLLY MADISON.

It has long been the fashion to glorify the women of our Colonial, Revolutionary and early National eras, but this fashion has been followed in a general and somewhat indiscriminate recognition of the courage, endurance and noble sympathy of the wives and mothers of our forefathers, rather than in appreciative memorials of the lives of those most worthy to be remembered. Romance and anecdote have preserved a few names from the early days of the colonies; Martha Washington and Abigail Adams may even be said to live as real characters in history; but there are few others that preserve more than a shadowy semblance of reality as they pass across the stage of history. Very recently a number of efforts have been made to rescue some of the once famous women of America from oblivion. Among these the 'Memoirs and Letters of Dolly Madison'* deserves honorable mention, for although the editorial work has not been done in an entirely praiseworthy manner, the letters of the sprightly wife of our scholar President, which this

little book contains, change the cold outlines of Mrs. Madison's historical portrait into a living and most delightful likeness. The appreciative, but unsatisfactory sketch, published more than fifty years ago in the National Portrait Gallery,† was long the best account, among the too meagre records of her life.

And yet, naturally, she was a character calculated to retain the loving remembrance of her own generation, and to win the retrospective love of posterity; and the circumstances of her life would seem to claim for her posthumous fame. The three great Democratic statesmen-Presidents, who filled the chair of the Chief Executive for the first quarter of the present century, have retained the admiration of the people and have always been the special idols of the south. And though Mr. Jefferson was the undisputed chief, Mr. Madison was more widely honored and beloved; and if the former justified his views to the country by the success of his administration, the latter, inheriting all that success, gave it a more catholic application by the more compromising character of his policy and the liberality of his

* *Memoirs and Letters of Dolly Madison, Wife of James Madison, President of the United States.* By her grandniece.

† *The National Portrait Gallery, Vol. III., 1836.*

nature. Madison, the scholar and gentleman of culture, became a great public man and a statesman, but he never possessed the qualities of a successful politician. His delicate health, his retiring manners and his content with the second place prevented his attaining that character which, if not admirable in itself, has yet been proved by the example of his predecessor to be by no means inconsistent with true statesmanship. It was the fiat of his chief which raised him to power; the nobility of his character did much to maintain him in his lofty station, but one need not have very acute eyes to read the fine lines of the wife's influence between the bold lines of the husband's career. It is as trite as it is true, that a politician's wife may make or mar her husband's fortune. Shrink as we will from associating the name of politician with the names of our honored Presidents of the semi-heroic period, such they were, and Mr. Madison, at least, owed much to the tact and political genius of his wife. For his sake then, as well as her own, her claim to be remembered by posterity presents itself.

Mr. Madison was forty-three years of age, and already famous and a prominent figure in congress, when, in 1794, he was attracted by the pretty widow Todd and craved an introduction. She was only two-and-twenty, having been born in North Carolina on the twentieth day of May, 1772, and very pretty and light-hearted. The courtly Burr was chosen as the bearer of the request for a presentation, and the evidently flattered Dulcinea sends off a missive to a friend asking for reinforcements for the evening's engagement:

"Dear friend," she says, in her quaint, sweet, Quaker speech, "thou must come to me; Aaron Burr says that the 'great little Madison' has asked to be brought to see me this evening." "Dressed in a mulberry-colored satin, with a silk tulle kerchief over her neck, and on her head an exquisitely dainty little cap, from which an occasional uncropped curl" escaped, she met the grave and studious Madison and took his rather unemotional heart by storm.

Mrs. Todd's parents were Virginia Quakers. Her father, John Payne, left the old dominion when she was still a child and removed to Philadelphia, having become convinced of the iniquity of slave-holding and freed his slaves, without whom life in Virginia was impracticable in his wealthy station. Dolly Payne grew up pretty, wealthy and wise, greatly admired and much beloved, if sometimes a little too vivacious and fond of gaiety for her stricter Quaker friends. But after a time her father failed, and it may have been this that caused her to tell the rich and handsome John Todd, when he courted her, that "she never meant to marry;" for in high-strung natures like hers, pride does not follow when money takes wings to itself. Whatever may have prompted the time-honored plea of delaying maidens in her case, John Todd was too wise a man to heed it, and, after all, the self-dedicated spinster was only eighteen when she forgot her vow and became Mrs. Todd. Three brief years of married life, which were blessed by two children, brought the young couple to the awful autumn of 1793, when the yellow fever reigned in Philadelphia. The ravages of

the pestilence were fearful, and ere the autumnal frosts had purified the poisonous air, the young husband and one child had fallen a victim to the dread disease, while the widowed and bereaved mother was only very slowly won back to life and health.

Mrs. Todd's must, indeed, have been a light and brave heart to have rallied from such a blow. It was the refining fire that was to prepare her for the long and useful life that lay before her; it did not destroy the joyousness of her nature, but only deepened and ennobled it.

Such was the woman who so speedily took Mr. Madison captive. Nor was she obdurate. The wooing was brief, and the wedding took place at Harewood in Virginia, the home of Mrs. Todd's younger sister, Mrs. George Steptoe Washington, on September 15, 1794.

Thenceforth till the close of Mr. Madison's Presidential service in March, 1817, she lived in a public station, either in Virginia or the National capital, which was Philadelphia till Jefferson's inauguration. Mrs. Madison now thought it her duty to mingle with the social life of the capitals, in order to further rather than retard her husband's interests, and gradually abandoned her Quaker habits of life; and it must be confessed that she seems to have taken to the new life very kindly, and it may be more than half suspected that the vanities of social life had sorely tempted her long before. It has even been hinted that the pretty little Quaker cap, to which she long clung, was dear to her soul, less as a link that bound her to the demure past, which she shrank from severing, than because it was exceedingly

becoming. As late as 1805 she writes to her sister, Mrs. Richard Cutts, from Philadelphia, where she was under the care of the famous Dr. Philip Physick and unable to leave her room: "I have the world to see, and many invitations to the houses of the gentry, but withstand all to be at ease here. I have not seen where I am yet, and the longer I stay, the less do the vanities tempt me, though, as you know, I usually like the routs all too well. . . . I have had a lecture from S. L. on seeing too much company, and it brought to my mind the time when our society used to control me entirely and debar me from so many advantages and pleasures; even now I feel my ancient terror revive in a great degree."

Indeed, we find the tender solicitude of her Quaker friends following her all her early life. She had wholly won their hearts, and as her worldly station rose step by step, they watched with godly anxiety, lest the example she set should be evil rather than good. Though she had a genius for social life and enjoyed it heartily, she was never what we would call a fashionable woman. And, after years of loving anxieties, the Friends were compelled to admit that she had done nothing they could condemn, adding sometimes, however, the saving clause, to justify themselves, that she had perhaps enjoyed a little too much the vanities of the world. Her blithe heart and light spirits were precious gifts, by which she cheered and encouraged her delicate husband, advanced his interests and made smooth his declining years. Could her critics have guessed what was preparing for their gay-hearted friend in the unknown future,

they would have left their doubts and thanked God for his gracious gifts.

When Mr. Jefferson became President in 1801, Mr. Madison was appointed secretary of state. Mrs. Jefferson being dead, and the President's daughters being often absent, Mrs. Madison was called on to do the honors of the White House with increasing frequency as Mr. Jefferson's term drew to its close. On one occasion Mr. Jefferson almost brought on an international difficulty by giving Mrs. Madison precedence over Mrs. Merry, the English minister's wife. Mrs. Madison had tact enough to feel the electricity in the atmosphere, and when the President offered his arm to conduct her down to dinner, whispered an urgent appeal to take down Mrs. Merry. But he was not to be moved, and Mrs. Merry, deeply insulted, took her husband's arm. Out of this little incident coolness arose, which soon after ended in Merry's requesting his government to recall him.

When, in 1809, she became the mistress of the White House, she found a heavy task on her hands. The political skies were very dark and her husband ill-adapted by nature and constitution to contend with the circumstances in which he was placed. She soon became an important part of the administration. Meeting and dealing with many politicians and their wives in social life, with the exquisite tact of a shrewd and prudent woman, she often accomplished as much as her husband and his coadjutors in their most important moves of state-craft; and when the tired, vexed and exhausted invalid stole away from the cares of office to her bright society, she was an angel of light

to him. Mr. Madison declared—no doubt with the most entire truth—that the happiest hours of his Presidential career were those when he slipped away to his wife's quiet sitting-room and forgot every other thing under the charm of her delightful conversation.

The troubles of the time culminated, before the end of Mr. Madison's first term, in the war with Great Britain. It required all her strength to bear the burden of the dark years of the struggle, but she bore herself with great fortitude. At last the climax seemed to be reached when the English forces began to gather about Washington. Nearer and nearer they came, and more and more hopeless did the American forces seem to be of making any resistance. The day before the enemy occupied the capital, Madison and Monroe, then secretary of state and acting secretary of war, left the city for the scene of action. Mrs. Madison remained behind in an agony of apprehension. Wednesday morning, August 24, 1814, it was plain that Washington could not be saved. In her suspense, Mrs. Madison turns to her pen for distraction and writes the following graphic letter to her sister, Mrs. Cutts:

"Wednesday morning, twelve o'clock.—Since sunrise I have been turning my spy-glass in every direction and watching with unwearied anxiety, hoping to discover the approach of my dear husband and his friends; but alas! I can descry only groups of military wandering in all directions, as if there was a lack of arms or of spirit to fight for their own fireside.

"Three o'clock.—Will you believe it, my sister? We have had a battle near

Bladensburg, and here I am still within sound of the cannon. Mr. Madison comes not. May God protect us! Two messengers covered with dust came to bid me fly; but here I mean to wait for him . . . At this late hour a wagon has been procured, and I have had it filled with plate and the most valuable portable articles belonging to the house. Whether it will reach its destination—the 'Bank of Maryland'—or fall into the hands of the British soldiery, events must determine. Our kind friend, Mr. Carroll, has come to hasten my departure, and in a very bad humor with me because I insist on waiting until the large picture of General Washington is secured, and it requires to be unscrewed from the wall. This process was found too tedious for these perilous moments. I have ordered the frame to be broken and the canvass taken out. It is done! and the precious portrait placed in the hands of two gentlemen of New York for safe keeping. And now, dear sister, I must leave this house or the retreating army will make me a prisoner in it by filling up the road I am directed to take. When I shall again write to you or where I shall be to-morrow, I cannot tell."

Mrs. Madison made her escape in safety and returned, soon after the British evacuated the city, to find the White House and the other government buildings destroyed, and nothing saved except the few things she had stopped to save. A private residence was rented and served for the Executive mansion during the remainder of her occupation. From this time forth the clouds slowly rose and her husband's administration brightened to its close,

In the correspondence of nearly twenty years of Philadelphia and Washington official life, there are many delightful little glimpses of Mrs. Madison's wit and mirth, and no less of her cleverness and insight into character. A single quotation must suffice us, inadequate as it cannot but be. In it we may particularly remark her just estimate of a young foreigner destined to become famous. She writes to Mrs. Cutts in the spring of 1804:

"We spent last evening at Mr. Pichon's. Our city is now almost deserted and will be more so in a week or two. Dr. and Mrs. T. sat yesterday, for the last time, to Stuart. He has now nearly finished all his portraits and says he means to go directly to Boston, but that is what he has said these two years; being a man of genius, he, of course, does things differently from other people. I hope he will be here next winter, as he has bought a square to build a 'temple' upon. Where will you celebrate the fourth of July, my dear sister? We are to have grand doings here. Mr. Van Ness is to deliver an oration, Mr. L. says, in the woods, and the ladies are to be permitted to partake of the mirth. We have lately had a great treat in the company of a charming Prussian baron. All the ladies say they are in love with him, notwithstanding his want of personal charms. He is the most polite, modest, well-informed and interesting traveler we have ever met, and is much pleased with America. I hope one day you will become acquainted with our charming Baron Humboldt. He sails, in a few days, for France, with his companions, and is going to publish an account of his travels in South America,

where he lived five years, proposing to return here again. He had with him a train of philosophers, who, though clever and entertaining, did not compare to the baron."

At the close of Mr. Madison's second term he passed the succession on to Colonel Monroe and retired to his Virginia estate of Montpelier. It was, doubtless, a hard change to Mrs. Madison, for she had lost none of her interest in the wide and varied life of Washington, and, in that day of bad roads and poor means of transportation, the life on a Virginia plantation was very lonely and narrow. It was this at best. Now her husband was on the verge of a long term of invalid years which was to make her life doubly narrow and confined. But this very life was destined to reveal the best traits of her character—her tender love for her husband, her patient, unselfish, self-sacrificing ways—traits long known to her intimates, but now revealed in colors so plain that "he who runs may read."

We have a little foretaste of these things in some letters written from Philadelphia in 1805, while she was there ill. She writes to Mrs Cutts :

"Here I am, on my bed, with my dear husband sitting anxiously by me, who is my most willing nurse. But you know how delicate he is. I tremble for him ; one night on the way he was taken very ill with the old complaint, and I could not fly to aid him as I used to do. Heaven, in its mercy, restored him next morning, and he would not pause until he heard my fate of Dr. Physick."

And to Mr. Madison, who had been

obliged to return to Washington, she writes a few days later :

"A few hours, only, have passed since you left me, my beloved, and I find nothing can relieve the oppression of my mind but speaking to you in this, the only way. . . . The watchman announced a cloudy morning at one o'clock, and from that moment I found myself unable to sleep from anxiety for thee, my dearest husband. Detention, cold and accident seem to menace thee. Betsy [Mrs. Pemberton], who lay beside me, administered several drops of laudanum, which had a partial effect. Everyone is most kind and attentive.

"October 25.—This clear, cold morning will favor your journey and enliven the feelings of my darling. I have nothing new to tell you. The knee is mending and I sit just as you left me. The doctor, during his short visits, talks of you. He regards you more than any man he knows, and nothing could please him so much as a prospect of passing his life near you—sentiments so congenial to my own, and, in such cases, like dew-drops on flowers, exhilarate as they fall."

And again she writes :

"I have, at this moment, perused with delight thy letter, my darling husband, with its enclosures. To find you love me, have my child safe and that my mother is well, seem to comprise all my happiness."

The wifely tenderness of these letters prepare us for the long years of devotion that were to follow Mr. Madison's retirement in 1817 until his death in 1836. In 1826 she writes to her kinswoman, Mrs. Andrew Stevenson :

"I have received by post just now, my ever dear cousin, your welcome letter, and cannot express my anxiety to embrace you once more ; but a spell rests upon me and withholds me from those I love most in this world. Not a mile can I go from home, and in no way can I account for it, but that my husband is fixed here and hates to have me leave him. This is the third winter in which he has been engaged in the arrangement of papers, and the business seems to accumulate as he proceeds, so that it might outlast my patience ; and yet I cannot press him to forsake a duty so important, or find it in my heart to leave him during its fulfillment."

The flying years only brought an ever-increasing weight to the noble old man and the devoted wife. Mrs. Madison writes to her niece and namesake, Dolly Cutts, May 11, 1835 :

"My days are devoted to nursing and comforting my sick patient, who walks only from the bed in which he breakfasts to another in the little room in which you left him. He is a little better, but not well enough to get into a carriage to drive to the springs, which I fondly hoped he might do."

And one might truthfully say that this side was the happy side of her life. On the other we find an ever-wakeful pain and anxiety on behalf of her dissipated, spendthrift son and only child—Payne Todd. She followed him with a mother's love and hope, but he brought only a fulfillment of the wise man's words, that "a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother;" and here, too, was the care of a large estate, which demanded an over-

sight that only those who have been at the head of a slave-holding planter's household can appreciate. And more burdensome than this, making extremest demands on her tact and management, was the great crowd of visitors who, in pleasant seasons, flocked to Montpelier to see the last of the race of giants. Too many came out of mere curiosity and abused the hospitality which was open to all, and went away without a thought that their thoughtless conduct was taxing, beyond the strength of [man, the gentle, courteous hostess who dispensed with such kindly hand the free hospitality of the old school.

During all the trials and the seclusion of these years, her interest in life and her ready sympathy for young and old never forsook her. She joins in the spirit of her niece's letters and is as sprightly and entertaining as if she still moved, the centre of National society. Thus she writes to Mary Cutts in 1834 :

"There has been a spell upon my fingers for a long time, dearest niece, and even now there rests one on my eyes. Still I would commune with you, whom I love so dearly, and tell you that your letters are all received and my spirits rising as I peruse them, because my hopes are renewed for dear Walter [Cutts] in your amiable efforts to embark him again on the waves of fortune. I rejoice at the pleasant visit you made to Kalorama with dear Dolché. I was anxious to write and tell you of our visit from Miss Martineau and how much we enjoyed her enlightened conversation and unassuming manners. We also liked her lively little friend, Miss Jeffries. Ah me !

my eyes are even now so troublesome that I must hasten to say as much as I can in a short space of time, hoping to do more when they are better.

"I have no idea of the new dance you speak of or its motions, but approve of your declining to learn it if disapproved of by society.* Our sex are ever losers when they stem the torrent of public opinion. Baron K's parties must be piquant and agreeable, but if Sir Charles Vaughn leaves, what will you all do?"

In mid-summer, 1832, her sister, Mrs. Cutts, whom she had to a great degree brought up and to whom she was devotedly attached, was taken seriously ill. Though very anxious to go to her, her husband's condition would not admit of it. After a hopeful rally, Mrs. Cutts died in August, 1832. This was a great blow to her, and her letters to Mr. Cutts and the Cutts children are full of the deepest evidence of her sorrow and her sympathy in their grief. Gradually the strength ebbed away in the aged frame by which she watched so constantly. The mind and heart, still young and full of strength, had but a feeble dwelling-place, and though the lamp of life burned more than four-score years, for many years it was but a slender flame. At last, on June 28, 1836, it went out and James Madison was no more. Her desolateness was extreme, and though all that loving friends could do was done, she was very lonely. Her chief refuge was found in devoting herself to the final labors prepar-

atory to publishing her husband's works. She remained for a time at Montpelier and then was induced to remove to Washington, where she eventually took a house and lived for many years, the centre of a little circle who were devotedly attached to her. During these last years my mother, who was the neice of Senator William Campbell Preston of South Carolina and a near relative of Mrs. Thomas H. Burton, was frequently in Washington, and her memory is full of reminiscences of Mrs. Madison. She still retained her cheerful ways and fondness for social life and, to a large degree, the fashions of her earlier life. Her head was always surmounted by the turban that had been so much the vogue in her prime and for which she had abandoned the Quaker cap of her youth. On one occasion she took three of the little cousins to the White House and showed them through it, and then presented them to the President, Mr. Van Buren, and finally, when the ceremonies were over, she turned to my mother, singling her out as the stranger to the sights of the capital, and said to her with great *empressement*: "My dear, it will be something for you to remember that Mrs. Madison showed you over the White House."

Her life was prolonged to her eighty-third year. The last years were not only lonely but they were also saddened by the evil courses of her son, who not only ran through his own handsome estate but squandered his mother's means until even Montpelier had to be sold. It was only through the liberality of congress in the purchase of the Madison papers that her last years were saved from penury and

* No doubt the waltz, which, originating in Austria in 1787, was only just invading the American realms of the stately measures of the old *regime*.

want. As it was, the path that had once been so broad and the prospect once so beautiful narrowed till the way was very straight and the outlook almost cruel. Her old friends had passed away. The grand generation of statesmen of the first epoch, exceeding, though they did, the measure of years allotted even to the strong, were now but a memory. And at length lassitude and debility won upon her who had been accustomed to bear the burden of others and she was heard to murmur, "Oh, for my counselor!" but the wise man for whom her soul longed had passed away, treading to the end the smooth path which her love had made for his world-weary feet. At last, sitting,

as was her wont, having the Bible read to her from the gospel of St. John, she slipped peacefully into a heavy sleep from which she was never completely aroused. It was a slow apoplexy. "For two days she lingered, apparently without suffering, waking only when aroused to momentary consciousness, when she would smile lovingly and put out her arms to embrace those whom she loved so well." Thus she sank into the long sleep, quietly, peacefully, with Christian hope and the old thoughtfulness for those about her, so that in death as in life she was the same noble, lovable woman.

ETHELBERT D. WARFIELD.

EARLY PERIODICAL LITERATURE OF THE OHIO VALLEY.

V.

WESTERN PERIODICALS—THE GENIUS OF THE WEST.

THE *Genius of the West*, a monthly magazine of western literature, was projected, and for a time conducted, by Howard Durham, a young Jerseyman, who came from his native state, in 1847, to the village of Mount Healthy, near Cincinnati. Durham was a shoemaker by trade, but, disregarding the proverb, "Stick to thy last," he forsook his humbler bench for a seat on the editor's tripod, and began his literary fortune by publishing a neat paper, *The Western Literary Gem*, which was presently united with another paper, the *Temperance Musician*. The last-named sheet was edited by Rev. A. D. Fillmore, author of a series of singing-books which

followed the system of angular or "Buck-wheat" notes once in vogue. Durham also joined John W. Henley in getting up a "moral and literary monthly for the young," which was christened "The Little Traveler," a name afterwards changed to "The Little Forester" by Durham, who bought his partner out.

The initial number of the *Genius*, printed in the rooms of the *Phonetic Advocate*, by the Longley Brothers, 169½ Walnut street, was dated October, 1853. After issuing several numbers, Mr. Durham took into partnership with him Coates Kinney, a poet already famous on account of the popularity of his "Rain

on the Roof." Kinney had just resigned his professorship of languages and *belles-lettres* in Judson college, Mt. Palatine, Illinois, and, on his return to Ohio, he became the leading editor of the new magazine.

Some business difficulty having arisen between Durham and Kinney, the latter bought the concern, taking as company Wm. T. Coggeshall, and Durham retired. The following curt valedictory appeared in the *Genius* of August, 1854:

For numerous reasons, more interesting to myself than to the public, I have withdrawn from the *Genius* of the West and Forester, leaving my partners "monarchs of all they survey."

HOWARD DURHAM.

In January, 1855, Durham issued the first number of a rival magazine, which he named "The New Western, the Original *Genius* of the West." The enterprising young editor was overtaken by financial troubles, added to which he suffered a bereavement in the death of a child. He was obliged to abandon the "New Western," and not long after he was attacked by cholera, of which he died September 14, 1855, at the early age of twenty-seven.

By the terms of his partnership with Kinney, William Turner Coggeshall became the chief owner of the *Genius* of the West. Born at Lewistown, Pennsylvania, September 6, 1824, Coggeshall came to Akron, Ohio, in early manhood, and embarked in the publication of a temperance paper, bearing the peculiar caption *The Roarer*. At Akron he was married, October 26, 1845, to Mary Maria Carpenter, who is now living at Chicago, Illinois. Mr. Coggeshall removed to Cincinnati in 1847, and became re-

porter for the *Times*, under the management of "Pap" Taylor. In 1849 he worked on the *Gazette* with Wm. D. Gallagher. He traveled in 1851-2 with General Louis Kossuth, reporting that eloquent Hungarian's speeches for both western and eastern papers. In the fall of 1852 he established a little paper called the *Commercial Advertiser*, but soon gave it up, and went into the office of the *Daily Columbian* as assistant editor. Having resigned his position on the *Columbian*, he took charge of the *Genius*, saying in brief salutory, "All I have and all I am are invested in the enterprise this magazine announces."

Coates Kinney's connection with the *Genius* of the West was severed June, 1855, when he wrote a "good-byographical" and retired, leaving Coggeshall sole proprietor. Early in 1856 Coggeshall was appointed state librarian by Governor Chase, and the *Genius* was disposed of to Mr. George True, who conducted it until July, 1856, when it was discontinued, five complete volumes having been issued. Three thousand copies of the *Genius* were the greatest number ever put forth in any single month.

Complete sets and even stray numbers of this periodical are very scarce, as, indeed, are sets and copies of most other western publications. This is accounted for, in part, by the circumstance that, during the Civil war, the sanitary commission gathered and sent to the soldiers all the copies of unbound periodicals that could be procured. Every house was ransacked for reading matter, and tons of books and pamphlets were collected and shipped to southern camps and hospitals.

The quality of a magazine is indicated by the character of its contributors. In the prospectus of the *Genius of the West*, its editor announced the following men and women as his pledged "assistants": Coates-Kinney, Wm. T. Coggeshall, J. H. A. Bone, Peter Fishe Reed, Clement E. Babb, J. W. Roberts, R. E. H. Levering, J. Hunt, jr., J. M. Walden, Comly Jessop, U. P. Ewing, T. H. Burgess, Mrs. Sarah T. Bolton, Alice Cary, Francis D. Gage, Harriet E. Benedict, Carrie Myer, M. Louisa Chitwood, Miss M. E. Wilson, Mary A. Reeves, Kate Harrington, Julia M. Brown, Mary "Eulalie" Fee, Louise E. Vickroy. Coggeshall printed in his list of contributors most of the above names and these additional ones: Wm. D. Gallagher, Rev. Dr. E. Thompson, Rev. A. A. Livermore, James W. Taylor, James W. Ward, Donald Macleod, Don A. Pease, D. Carlyle McCloy, Florus B. Plimpton, Anson G. Chester, E. S. S. Rouse, Thos. Hubbard, Alfred Burnett, G. A. Stewart, General L. V. Bierce, S. S. Cox, John B. Dillon, J. B. Burrows, T. Herbert Whipple, Mrs. R. S. Nichols, Mattie Griffith, Carrie Piatt, Elvira Parker, Phoebe Cary, Harriet N. Babb, E. D. Mansfield, Dr. I. J. Allen, L. J. Cist, Osgood Mussey, Professor J. R. Buchanan, W. W. Fosdick, O. J. Victor, W. Albert Sutcliffe, S. D. Harris, Isaac H. Julian, M. Halstead, J. H. Baker, Professor E. E. Edwards, L. A. Hine, V. M. Griswold, Comly Jessop, Sydney Dyer, T. J. Janvier, Metta Victoria Fuller, Mrs. Susan W. Jewett, Mrs. Frances S. Locke, Kate Harrington, Ida Marshall, Jane Maria Mead, Lydia Jane Pierson, Daniel Vaughn.

Perhaps a majority of the persons named here are yet living, and some of them are occupying prominent positions in journalism, politics, education or the pulpit. Kinney, Bone, Reed, Walden, Halstead, Gallagher, Victor, Hine, Cox, have been writing for the press for at least forty years. They are all authors; all have been connected with periodicals; all are friends of humanity and active promoters of civilization.

J. M. Walden, now Rev. J. M. Walden, D. D., a bishop in the M. E. church, contributed to the *Genius of the West*, in its first year, a religious sketch entitled, "The Orphan's Prayer; or the Superstitions of Yore," and a temperance story, "The Contrast; or the Old Still-House and its Owner in Ruins." The scene of both these little stories is the bank of the Big Miami river, and the writer delineated with much fidelity local scenery and, to some extent, local customs.

Mr. Coggeshall took an active interest in history, and solicited competent writers to send him chapters recounting the annals of the west. James W. Taylor, author of the 'History of Ohio,' contributed some valuable matter; John B. Dillon of Indiana, W. S. Drummond of Missouri, and Humphrey Marshall of Kentucky, all wrote special articles for the *Genius*. The veteran historian of Marietta, Doctor S. P. Hildreth, contributed an excellent article on "Heroic Women of the Early Western Settlements." Mr. Coggeshall, himself an indefatigable explorer, especially in the fields of western literature and journalism, gave his readers the benefit of his researches.

Orville James Victor was one of the

best writers for the *Genius*. He contributed a long and excellent review of "Gerald Massey, the Workingman's Poet."

Victor was born in 1827, at Sandusky, Ohio, where, in 1852, he became assistant editor of the *Daily Register*. He was a frequent contributor to the *Ladies' Repository* and other periodicals. In July, 1856, he was married, in Mansfield, Ohio, to the accomplished writer, Miss Metta Victoria Fuller, and the *Genius* published a handsome account of the wedding, under the happy heading, "Victoria, the Victor." The couple moved to New York, and Mr. Victor became editor of the *Cosmopolitan Art Journal*, and engaged in various other literary work. He is the author of a four-volume 'History of the Southern Rebellion,' which Horace Greeley pronounced an "admirable work" and used as an authority.

Mrs. M. V. Victor, *nee* Fuller, was born in 1831. She began to write verses and stories at the age of fourteen, and at sixteen she was known to a numerous circle of admiring readers, through various pieces contributed to Willis' Home Journal, under the sentimental pseudonym of the "Singing Sibyl." In 1847 she published her first book, 'The Last Days of Tul.' Then appeared 'Poems of Sentiment,' 1851; 'Fresh Leaves from the Western Woods,' 1852; 'The Senator's Son' and 'Fashionable Dissipation,' 1854. The last two were temperance novels, and thousands of copies were sold. On her removal with her husband to New York, Mrs. Victor continued her literary career, publishing, in 1857, 'The Two Mormon Wives,' in 1858, 'The Arctic Queen: A Poem,' and, in 1860, 'Mrs. Slimmon's Window.'

Another of her books, 'The Dead Letter,' is "believed to be," says J. B. Derby, its publisher, "one of the most widely circulated American novels—second only to 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.'"

Another writer of the *Genius'* fraternity, who, like the Victors, the Carys, and Wallace and Reed and Howells, and many more, went east to better his fortunes, was James Warner Ward. Born in New Jersey in 1818, and educated at Boston High school, Ward came to Cincinnati when a very young man, and studied natural sciences under the guidance of Professor John Locke. He was a contributor to Gallagher's *Mirror* and to the *Hesperian*. When but twenty years of age he published, at Cleveland, Ohio, a small book, 'Yorick and Other Poems.' Becoming a practical botanist, he joined John A. Warder in conducting the *Western Horticultural Review*. A man of wide-ranging tastes and talents, he turned his attention, with success, to the composition of sacred music. Ward settled in New York city in 1859.

Peter Fishe Reed, a man of weird and delicate fancy, almost a genius, but lacking in will-power and practical qualities—a painter, poet and romancer—wrote for the *Genius* of the West some impressive verses and several prose pieces of remarkable insight and subtlety. "The Still Demon: A Fable," is the name of one of his queer allegories; "The Devil's Pulpit: A Legend of Tullulah Falls," is a wild, strange story of Indian love and savage incantation. More skillfully wrought is a strange study of the conflict of pride and humility, presented in the form of a Poem-like story, called "The Wills of Arlam

and Malra." But the most original and meritorious of Reed's prose contributions to the *Genius* is a short one, "The Triune Muse," a beautiful allegory showing the unity of poetry, painting and music. Other contributions by Reed were three articles discussing the "Principles of Poetry," and the quaint poems, "The Poet-Zone" and "Dream-World Wonders: A Fantasia."

Reed was what is called "self-made"—that is, he was poor, and had not the benefit of schools or influential friends. He was born at South Boston in 1819. He has been, he tells us, "farmer, shoemaker, house and sign painter, editor, doctor, photographer, music teacher and painter of portraits and landscapes." He has lived in Vermont, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Chicago, Santa Barbara and Cedar Rapids, the last place being his home at the time of his death. His first writing was for the *Weekly Columbian*. In the days of the *Genius* of the West, he owned and tilled a farm near Vernon, Indiana. There he wrote a novel, in which the career of a self-made man was portrayed. This was never published. In 1868 he published, at Chicago, a volume, 'The Voices of the Wind and Other Poems.' Two years before he brought out a very ingenious and amusing book for young people, under the title 'Beyond the Snow,' and he was engaged in writing a romance of a marvelous sort, which he named 'The Moon City,' when he died last summer.

William Whiteman Fosdick, a born poet, a true wit, a boon companion of artists and literary men, a courteous gentleman, loved and admired by every

man, woman and child who knew him, contributed to the *Genius* two poems—his stanzas, "To William Cullen Bryant," and a pretty love-story in rhyme, "The Maiden of the Mill." Fosdick was a native of the west, being born in Cincinnati in January, 1825. He died in the same city in 1862, universally lamented. No reader possessed of the least poetic sensibility, or critical judgment of what constitutes poetry, can read Fosdick's collected pieces, 'Ariel and Other Poems,' without feeling that they sparkle with the divine light. Such lyrics as "The Maize," "The Pawpaw," "The Catawba," "The Thrush," have both the body and the soul of truth, and they deserve to be cherished.

The name of Florus B. Plimpton, another western born and western bred poet of high merit, whose recent death, in April, 1886, is fresh in the public memory, occurs on the pages of the interesting magazine of which we are giving a history. Mr. Plimpton was born in Portage county, Ohio, in 1830. The energy of his comparatively short life was spent chiefly in the arduous labors of newspaper editing. Most of his poetical compositions were produced in the period of his early manhood from about 1850 to 1860. He wrote for Knickerbocker, Moore's Western Lady's Book, the *New York Tribune* and many other periodicals. Seventy of his select poems were collected and published in a most elegant and richly illustrated volume by his wife. Plimpton contributed to the *Genius* of the West only two poems, "The Flight" and "Woman's Love in Woman's Eyes."

Coates Kinney's portion of the contents

of the *Genius* was generous in quantity and excellent in quality. Besides editorial correspondence and "littlegraphs," he contributed two or three good poems and a number of finely written prose articles, including "Improvisations of an Opium-Thinker," "The Poetry of Alice Cary" and "Two Scenes of the War," the last a bit of dramatic word-painting, in two vivid scenes, one of the battle of Inkermann, the other of an English cottage home and a maiden, who receives news of the death of her lover at Inkermann. This composition is admirable; its brilliant merit was recognized throughout the country, and the piece was widely copied.

It remains for me to add something further about Mr. Coggeshall. A most industrious worker, he furnished nearly half the matter of the volumes of the *Genius* that he edited. A practical moralizer, he wrote sketches for young men on "State Governors," on "Millard Fillmore" and "Young America." A sifter and compiler of facts, he prepared historical papers on the "Origin and Progress of Printing," "Men and Events in the West" and "Literary and Artistic Enterprises in Cincinnati." He published an essay entitled "Genius and Gumption," several short stories and one long one called "The Counterfeiters of the Cuyahoga: A Buckeye Romance." In 1854 a collection of some of his stories was published by Redfield, New York, with the title, 'Easy Warren and His Contemporaries; Sketched for Home Circles.' In 1855 he brought out a volume called 'Oakshaw; or the Victims of Avarice: A Tale of Intrigue,' and a lecture on "Caste and Character." In 1859 he published 'A

Discourse on the Social and Moral Advantages of the Cultivation of Local Literature,' and in 1863, 'Stories of Frontier Adventure in the South and West.' While connected with the *Genius* he announced himself as a public lecturer, and became quite popular on the platform.

He was appointed state librarian in 1856, and held the position during the administrations of Governors Chase and Dennison. His opportunities as editor, lecturer and librarian facilitated the task which he had set himself of collecting materials for his most important work, 'The Poets and Poetry of the West.' This well-known volume was copyrighted in the year 1860, and was issued as a subscription book by Follett, Foster & Company, Columbus, Ohio. It contains six hundred and eighty-eight large pages, and is a compendium rather than a selection of western poetry, presenting biographical notices of, and poems by, more than one hundred and fifty writers. Among the biographical contributors, the following were named in the canvasser's prospectus, with place of residence and occupation: Rev. Edward Thomson, president of Ohio Wesleyan university; William D. Gallagher, Kentucky; Ben Cassedy, Louisville; Rev. T. M. Eddy, editor Northwestern Christian Advocate; W. W. Fosdick, esq., Cincinnati; Orville J. Victor, editor Cosmopolitan Art Journal; Frances Fuller Barritt, New York city; Honorable J. W. Gordon, Indianapolis; Honorable Robert Dale Owen, United States minister at Naples; Honorable Heman Canfield, Medina, Ohio; William T. Bascom, esq., Columbus, Ohio; Benjamin St. James

Fry, president of Worthington Female college; Professor L. D. McCabe, Ohio Wesleyan college; Lyman C. Draper, secretary of Wisconsin Historical society; Lewis A. Hine, Loveland, Ohio; Rev. M. D. Conway, Cincinnati; Sullivan D. Harris, editor *Ohio Cultivator*; William Henry Smith, city editor *Cincinnati Gazette*; T. Herbert Whipple, Chicago; J. W. Hoyt, editor of *Wisconsin Farmer*; Coates Kinney, Waynesville, Ohio; J. D. Botefur, Fremont, Ohio; Thomas Gregg, editor *Hamilton (Ill.) Republican*; Austin T. Earle, Newport, Kentucky; Abram Brower, esq., Cincinnati; James S. Frost, esq., Detroit; Henry B. Carrington, esq., Columbus, Ohio; Honorable William Lawrence, Bellefontaine, Ohio; C. E. Muse, assistant editor of Louisville *Democrat*.

In 1862 Coggeshall removed to Springfield, Ohio, and purchased the *Springfield Republic*. In 1865 he returned to Columbus, and became editor of the *Ohio State Journal*. At this time his health failed, from the effects of exposure while in secret service in the first year of the war, and

he resigned his position as editor and accepted the office of private secretary to Governor J. D. Cox. He received in June, 1865, a government appointment as United States minister at Quito, Ecuador, and immediately removed to South America. His broken health was not restored; he died at Quito, August 2, 1867, aged forty-two years, having accomplished a large amount of useful work, especially in the promotion of culture in the west. His 'Poets and Poetry of the West' has done much to keep green the memory of our early authors, and much to give prestige to men and women who are yet living and who, in many instances, were introduced to the public in its pages. But no biographical sketch of Coggeshall himself has appeared hitherto in any of the literary anthologies. I searched in vain for a notice of his life, in Allibone, Duyckinck and numerous biographical dictionaries. The facts here printed concerning him were obtained from Mrs. Mary M. Coggeshall, who now resides in Chicago.

W. H. VENABLE.

THE AMERICAN RAILROAD: ITS INCEPTION, EVOLUTION AND RESULTS.

VIII.

AN ERA OF RAILROAD VENTURES—1830 TO 1836.

THE success of such English and American railroads as were in operation between 1830 and 1835, stimulated activity in all directions, interested capital and enterprise, filled the minds of the people with dreams of the most sanguine character and caused the commencement of many lines which never went beyond the paper and speculative stage, and of many others that became eventually the foundations of the great systems of to-day.

While the detailed history of these various enterprises must be delayed for the present, a rapid glance can be given to the measures proposed and the advances made between the years mentioned. Many points of personal and historical interest can be gleaned along the way; and we shall depart somewhat from the usual historical method, by telling the story largely in the language of cotemporary chroniclers rather than our own. It was a season not only of excitement but of results,* and the

rapid strides of the iron horse across the continent in later years was possible largely because of the plans formed and the experience gleaned in that important half decade of 1830 and 1835—a roseate period prior to the great panic which soon after claimed and received the penalties of loss and suffering which overgrowth and undue commercial haste have been ever compelled to pay.

Passing mention has been made of several lines projected and commenced in the United States before 1829–30, and our present narration will find its commencement at that important point. The possibilities suggested by the Quincy line, aided by the experiences of the Mauch Chunk, Baltimore & Ohio and English roads, stimulated activity in New England, and led the board of directors of internal improve-

Year.	Miles in operation.	Annual increase, miles.
1830.....	23.....	00
1831.....	95.....	72
1832.....	229.....	134
1833.....	380.....	151
1834.....	633.....	253
1835.....	1,098.....	465

* The following important illustrative figures are taken from Poor's 'Railroad Manual':

ments of Massachusetts to lay before the general court of that state, on January 16, 1829, a report upon the practicability and expediency of a railroad from Boston to the Hudson river, and from Boston to Providence. Accompanying this important document were reports of the engineers containing the results of their surveys and estimates of the cost of both proposed roads.

For two seasons past the engineers had been engaged under the superintendence of commissioners appointed by the state in making surveys of the country between Boston and Providence and Boston and Albany, and in their report described the routes which offered the greatest advantages and the abundance and quality of the material for the construction of the roads that lay along the lines proposed. When the matter came thus before the legislature at the time named, that body passed a series of resolutions declaring that it was expedient to "aid and encourage these works by the funds of the state," and recommending the subject to the people and to the next legislature as "deserving a thorough examination and an early decision."

In an able review* of that report, it is declared that "the distance from Boston to Albany, by the most favorable of the routes surveyed, is found to be one hundred and ninety-eight miles, that by the roads now most traveled being about one hundred and sixty-five. This route is on a line so nearly level as to admit of being traveled throughout by locomotive power alone, without

the aid of any description of stationary power in surmounting the elevations to be passed. By the adoption of stationary powers, on inclined planes, in surmounting some of the steeper declivities, it is supposed the distance might be reduced to something less than one hundred and ninety miles without any considerable increase of the elevation to be passed. The distance by the most level of the Providence routes, from tide-waters on Front street, in Boston, to the neighborhood of deep navigable waters, at Fox Point, in the southerly part of Providence, is forty-three miles and forty-eight chains. This is about two miles farther than by the shortest route now traveled. It is found that no part of the inclination on this route need exceed thirty feet in a mile, and that no aid of stationary powers will be required."

A curious conclusion is arrived at by the reviewer, which after-facts did not prove to be correct. "The cost of maintaining locomotive engines in England, near the coal mines," said he, "and where, consequently, the expense for fuel is low, is greater than that of keeping the number of horses in this country which will exert the same degree of power, provided the horses travel at a slow pace. But if the pace of the horses is accelerated, his power is diminished in a much greater ratio than his speed is increased. With steam-power, acting on a locomotive engine, it is otherwise. The same power which will move twenty tons a given distance per hour will move ten tons double that distance in an hour; so that

* North American Review, April, 1829, p. 522.

the effect produced is the same in a rapid as in a slow rate of motion. For rapid traveling, therefore, locomotive engines may be cheaper than animal power. But they are applicable only to the conveyance of loads of many tons weight, and are therefore not suited to the purpose of moving stage-coaches. Indeed the resistance to the motion of a carriage on a railroad is so slight that the cost of horse-power, even at the low degree of exertion which he is capable of when traveling at a very rapid rate, is a matter of small consideration compared with the cost of traveling in any of the ordinary modes. The power of a single horse is sufficient for drawing a stage-coach as fully loaded and at as rapid a speed as the passengers will desire. For other purposes than the conveyance of passengers, a rapid rate of traveling is not, in general, of any great advantage. It is not probable, therefore, that locomotive engines will, for the present, be found advantageous in this country." While the state took no immediate action upon the report, it had the effect of arousing discussion and interest among the people, and bore abundant fruit in the future.

Passing onward, with some attention to chronology, but only enough to form a thread upon which may be hung a number of interesting, isolated facts, we learn in September, 1829, that between three and four miles of the Schuylkill Valley railroad were ready for use. The line had been substantially constructed, with a double track, and at an average cost of twenty-five hundred

dollars per mile. The Mount Carbon Railroad company had completed its organization and was about ready to commence work. A floating paragraph in October of the same year declared that "a railway, about a mile long, with a roof covering the same, has been constructed a few miles below the Yellow Banks, to the coal mines of Messrs. Triplett and Burnley, Kentucky. The opening of these mines promises a great accommodation to the public and a large profit to the enterprising proprietors." In January, 1830, it is announced that "Colonel De Witt Clinton, engineer," has projected an ambitious enterprise, which is no less than a railway from New York city to Missouri, "with a view of uniting all the natural and artificial channels of communication in the intermediate distance." The estimate showed the need of one thousand miles of railway to cover the intervening distances, and its projector declared that it could be built at a cost of fifteen million dollars. No evidence is at hand to show that the plan went farther than speculation. In February of the same year the New York *Mercantile Advertiser* announces that "the bills to authorize the construction of the Delaware & Raritan canal and Camden & South Amboy railroad finally passed the several branches of the New Jersey legislature on Thursday, and have become laws." The announcement was added that funds for the construction of the railroad were all ready, and that only a brief period would elapse before New Yorkers might, if they pleased, "reach Phila-

delphia in three or four hours, as easily as we have hitherto gone in the North American steamboat, in about ten hours, to Albany." In April a bill passed the Pennsylvania house of representatives for the incorporation of the Baltimore & Susquehanna road, but was opposed by a large public meeting in Philadelphia, with the mayor in the chair; and resolutions denouncing it were passed, because the completed line would be sure to "direct or lead off a large portion of the produce raised" in certain parts of Pennsylvania. A meeting was soon after held at York, where the measure was warmly commended and the interference of the Philadelphians denounced. In July the citizens of Petersburg, Virginia, enthusiastically subscribed \$326,400 toward a proposed railroad from that place to Roanoke. On March 31 a large meeting is held at Boston to adopt measures preparatory to stock subscriptions in the Franklin Railroad company, formed for the purpose of building a line from Boston to Vermont. "Many spirited resolutions were adopted, and a committee of four persons from each ward appointed to receive subscriptions from the citizens for the stock. Railroads appear to claim almost exclusive attention as means of communication between distant points, and repeated experiments have proven that transportation can in this way be reduced to the lowest possible rates." So declares the reporter of the great gathering. In October one thousand men are at work on the Albany & Schenectady road, which it is hoped will be completed within the year; while a meeting is held in Saratoga to inquire into the expediency of constructing a road to connect Schenectady and that place. The Camden & Amboy were to commence operations on their line, with a view to having the embankments thrown up early, preparatory to the laying of rails in the spring. In May, 1831, the new road from New Orleans to Lake Ponchartrain was opened with imposing ceremonies, the city and state officers traveling over it. It was hoped that the trade between Mississippi and Alabama and the city, "with the transportation of passengers and goods in both directions," would secure the success of the enterprise. A description of the little road says: "The people of New Orleans are much pleased with their railroad to Lake Ponchartrain. It is four and a half miles long, perfectly straight, and its ascent and descent is only sixteen inches. The avenue on which the road runs is one hundred and fifty feet in width, and, being perfectly straight, the eye easily traverses its whole length. Standing on the bank of the Mississippi, you readily see the vessels sailing across the opening at the end of the avenue of trees." Books for subscriptions to the stock of the Philadelphia & Delaware County company were opened in Philadelphia and Chester in May, and of the 4,000 shares for sale, 2,700 were taken by the commissioners, 900 in Philadelphia, while the other 400 were to go to Chester. In July it was announced that a meeting would be held in Warren, Ohio, to take action

upon a proposed road to unite the Ohio river and Lake Erie. In August the "Tuscumbia railway" was commenced in Tennessee, and it was expected that it would be completed before the end of the year. It was hoped that the Albany & Schenectady road would be finished in the same month—"length sixteen miles, cost about three hundred thousand dollars for a single track, or \$450,000 for a double one. Locomotive engines are to be used. One of Mr. Stephenson's is speedily expected from England, and a 'Yankee' is building another. The stock is much above par. The numerous locks on the canal between Albany and Schenectady have rendered this road almost indispensable, because of the great increase of business." It was also announced that stock to the amount of \$500,900 had been subscribed for a road from Troy, New York, to Vermont, when only \$450,000 were required; while a two million dollar line from Albany to New York city was talked about. Later in the same month it is announced that the road from Albany and Schenectady is in operation. "The cars at present are drawn by horses, but two locomotives will soon be upon the road." "The Ithaca & Owego road," says the same authority of the same date, "is about to be commenced under very flattering prospects."

An account has already been furnished of the trial trip of the locomotive "De Witt Clinton" on the Albany & Schenectady, or "Mohawk" line, and further reference to the opening of New York's first railroad is not re-

quired. The Albany *Advertiser* furnishes some interesting points touching the early operations of the line that may be of interest in this connection: "On Thursday," it says late in August, "the locomotive, De Witt Clinton, came down from Schenectady, on her first regular trip, in fifty minutes, with a train of cars behind her. Yesterday a friend of ours left with a small train of cars at twenty-eight minutes past ten, eight coaches having preceded. The engine went at the rate of nine miles an hour up to the long inclined plane of three miles in extent, with a descent of twenty-one feet per mile. The last seven miles on a level were passed in thirty minutes exactly.

"The engine left Schenectady, with another train of four loaded coaches, at ten minutes past twelve, and came the first seven miles in thirty-five minutes, stopped five minutes, and came the last four and a half miles in about seventeen minutes, being less than an hour coming the whole distance. Pine wood was used on this occasion, but it cannot be made to produce an uniform heat, and the velocity at some portions of the route was greater or less accordingly. Several miles, however, were run at a rate of twenty to twenty-three an hour, which fact can be easily known from the number of strokes of the piston per minute.

"The cars now leave Schenectady at a little after twelve m., so that our citizens can take a morning ride with great comfort. The sensation is delightful. A velocity of twenty miles an hour is very agreeable and novel. There has

been more traveling yesterday and the day before than at any other preceding period. The new locomotive from England is arrived. The inclined plane at Schenectady is nearly finished, and it is an object of great curiosity."

Reference has been incidentally made to the Philadelphia, Germantown & Norristown road, and as it was the first in Pennsylvania upon which a steam passenger train was ever run, a more extended account of its inception and early struggles and triumphs may properly be given. It was incorporated by an act of the assembly, approved February 17, 1831, by Governor George Wolf. Commissioners were designated, and were directed, on or before the first of May following, to open books and receive subscriptions. Several of the sections of the act were devoted to the organization and management of the company, and in one it was declared that "no dividend shall exceed twelve per cent., and further provided when the dividend shall exceed six per cent. per annum, the company shall pay a tax of eight per cent. on all such dividends above six per cent. into the treasury of the state for the use of the commonwealth." The tolls for transportation were fixed at two cents per mile on each ton of produce, minerals, etc., and one cent per mile for all passengers, except those persons necessary to conduct the train, with a promise that when the net proceeds of tolls should exceed twelve per cent. on the capital, the tolls should be revised so as not to exceed that amount. Another section declared that if the work was not

commenced within two years or completed in five years, or if, after the completion, the road was allowed to go to decay, or be impassable for ten years, the charter should be null and void.

The cheap rates and big dividends provided for the proprietors of the road do not seem to have worked well. Dividends of any kind did not come for many years after the road commenced operations, and the rate of passengers was increased to two cents per mile, by a supplement of the charter, April 7, 1832, the same year in which the cars began to run. This same supplement promised that "it shall be lawful for the company to own and place locomotive engines on said road, to transport persons, minerals, produce, merchandise and other articles, as well as the United States mails."

The progress making in New Jersey was referred to and described in the message of Governor Vroom to the legislature of that state in the fall of 1831. "The two great works of internal improvement in which the state is interested," said he, "the Delaware & Raritan canal and the Camden & Amboy railroad, are progressing steadily to their completion. The railroad will be put into operation from Amboy to Bordentown early next season, and from the increased facilities that will be given to traveling and the transportation of merchandise, it is confidently expected that it will become immediately profitable, and that a new incentive will be given to the spirit of enterprise which is beginning to be felt

in every class of the community. The state is now largely concerned in the railroad, being a stockholder to the amount of \$100,000, besides having a share in the tolls received by the company. And it is a matter of congratulation that we are likely so soon to realize some of the benefits growing out of our local situation."

At a later point, in the same document, he said: "There are various other works of internal improvement either commenced or authorized, in which this state has no immediate interest, but calculated to be of great importance to different sections of the country. The railroad from Paterson to the Hudson river has commenced under very favorable auspices, and there can be no doubt that its speedy completion will be decidedly favorable to the prosperity of the town, in which, as Jersey men and friends of domestic industry, we must all feel a lively interest as well as an honest pride. The route of the contemplated railroad from Elizabethtown to Somerville has been surveyed during the summer. It passes through a rich and fertile part of the state, and one singularly adapted to that species of improvement. If it should be extended further into the interior of the state, or across the state to the Delaware river, at such point as might appear most advantageous to the company, it would prove a great benefit to the community."

In January, 1832, announcement is made* that applications would be made to the next legislature of New York for

acts of incorporation for "twenty-five different railroads, with an aggregate capital of forty-one million dollars; of these, however, three are for roads between Lake Erie and the Hudson, with an aggregate capital of twenty-seven millions." In March the Frenchtown & New Castle road was opened for freight and passengers. Horses were then used, but it was hoped that steam might soon be introduced, "because of its extraordinary straightness." In March it was also announced with a flourish of trumpets that "a noble project" had been started to connect New York and Washington by a steam road. A Baltimore editor, who believed that it was the duty of the government to foster internal improvements, encouraged the plan, declaring that "the whole cost of it would not equal the extra charges for transportation during the late short war—but it might be unconstitutional to accomplish so great public good! To be dragged from four to five days through slush and mud at the immediate hazard of life and the actual loss of many valuable persons annually from diseases contracted by exposure to the inclemency of our seasons—with a great waste of time and money—is according to state rights; but to pass safely and comfortably from the commercial capital of the Nation to the seat of government in fifteen or twenty hours, is an idea that will be met with 'nullification' at once! Some links in this chain of communication are already planned for execution—from Washington to Baltimore, from Baltimore to Port Deposit, from

* 'Niles' Register,' No. 41, p. 337.

Chester to Philadelphia, and from Philadelphia to Trenton; and a little encouragement from the National government would place Washington and New York within twenty hours of each other in three or four years, even in the winter season." Close upon this argument came, on March 7, the announcement from Trenton that the New Jersey Railroad bill had become a law, and that thereby a privilege had been secured "for a railroad from the Hudson river, through Newark, Elizabethtown, near Rahway and Woodbridge, to New Brunswick, and by means of the connecting road which the joint companies are compelled to make from their road to New Brunswick, as soon as the New Jersey road is completed, it will be united to the Camden & Amboy railroad. This creates an entire thoroughfare communication from New York to Philadelphia." To show that the west was keeping pace with the east, the Ohio legislature, at about the same period, passed twelve incorporating acts, to-wit: The Richmond, Eaton & Miami; the Mad River & Lake Erie; the Port Clinton & Lower Sandusky; the Franklin, Springborough & Wilmington; the Erie & Ohio; the Columbus, Delaware, Marion & Sandusky; the Cincinnati & St. Louis; the Cincinnati, Harrison & Indianapolis; the Pennsylvania & Ohio; the Milan & Newark; the Milan & Columbus, and the Chillicothe & Lebanon—an ambitious start that in the main was a long way from realization. "Another," continued the account of the above charters, "if not included, in part, in some

of the preceding, has been surveyed from Pittsburgh, by way of the Valley of the Little Beaver, through New Lisbon and Canton, to the Ohio canal at Massillon—which latter will become one of the most important places in the west. The whole distance is only one hundred and eight miles, and, as the ground is favorable, the cost is estimated at an average of less than twenty thousand dollars per mile. The curves on the route will have a radius of one thousand feet, and so may be passed with great velocity. This is one of the most important roads that can easily be suggested in the west."

Passing onward, we note the passage of an act by the New York assembly, for the incorporation of the New York & Erie railroad, by a vote of 108 to 2. On June 6 the road from Philadelphia to Germantown was opened "with handsome ceremony and show," the managers of the company, with a number of invited guests, making a journey "in nine splendid cars." "The road was lined by thousands of gratified spectators." "All the cars, one excepted, were from the extensive manufactory in Baltimore."

An interesting communication from Honorable Elisha Whittlesey, member of congress from northeastern Ohio, appears in the *Western Reserve Chronicle* of Warren, Ohio, under date of "Canfield, July 30, 1832," in which the endeavor to obtain a survey at the expense of the government is detailed, with an account of its defeat at the hands of "Old Hickory." The route of the proposed road was from the city of

New York to the Portage Summit of the Ohio canal. "Colonel Clinton," relates Mr. Whittlesey, "on an application made to the war department by several citizens of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, was directed by the secretary of war, in the course of last fall, to make a *reconnaissance* of the country from the Hudson river to the Portage Summit, with the view of ascertaining the practicability of constructing a railroad between these points, but whose ultimate termination was designed to be on the Mississippi. Colonel Clinton performed the service, and the result of his examination was reported to the secretary of war and communicated to the house of representatives. Three thousand copies of this report were ordered to be printed, on a motion made by myself; and from a belief that the information contained in the report was deeply interesting to this section of the country, I disseminated it as extensively as was within my power. Whoever has consulted this document has found that Colonel Clinton supposed the route was not only practicable but highly favorable.

"The legislature of New York, during its last session, incorporated a company to construct a railroad from the Hudson river to some point on Lake Erie, between the Cattaraugus creek and the east line of Pennsylvania. Mr. Collier, one of the representatives from New York, through whose district it was expected the route would be located, drew up an application to the secretary of war for an engineer to survey the route designated by the act of

New York. When the application was presented to me it was signed by most of the delegation from New York who united in it. Perceiving it contemplated to terminate the route at Lake Erie, I remonstrated against it, and affixed to my signature a note that my understanding was, the survey was to be made to the Portage Summit. The secretary of war, perceiving two routes were spoken of, required that those interested should designate which one they thought to be the most important, as the department would direct only one of them to be surveyed. This opened another conference between Mr. Collier and others of the New York delegation and myself, on the relative importance of the two routes, the result of which was that the route to Portage Summit was selected.

"The route being thus agreed upon, the secretary of war decided it should be surveyed if the bill passed that contained an appropriation for continuing the surveys under the act of 1821. It may be necessary to remark that the act of 1824 empowers the President of the United States to cause such routes for roads or canals as he deems to be of National importance to be surveyed at the expense of the United States. Twenty-five thousand dollars were thus appropriated to enable the President to carry the act into effect, and annual appropriations of twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars have been made at each subsequent session of congress. The appropriation for this purpose this year is, according to my recollection, thirty thousand dollars. The only

condition mentioned by the secretary of war, that would defeat the survey, was the failure to pass the Appropriation bill, and when that bill was passed and approved by the President, no doubt was entertained but the survey would be made. The execution of the law of 1824 was, by Mr. Monroe and Mr. Adams, referred to the war department, and the same course has heretofore been pursued by President Jackson."

Mr. Whittlesey, after thus giving a history of the case, adds the disappointing statement that the President had decided that the state, company or persons interested in the survey should defray all the expenses thereof, except so far as the personal expenses of the engineer and the cost of his instruments were concerned. Colonel Clinton had received instructions to that effect from the President through the war department, "that such surveys are not to be made, unless the states, incorporated companies or individuals interested shall meet all expenses, except such as belong to the personal compensation of the engineers, or for the procuring and repairs of the necessary instruments. On these conditions you may survey the route which may be chosen by the state or incorporated company, or parties applying for the survey, but on no other condition."

The irate member from Ohio resented this order on the part of President Jackson, and so expressed himself in his communication to the *Chronicle*. "The question naturally arises," he argued, "are these roads of National importance? If the President thinks they are,

the law of 1824 requires the expense of surveying them to be borne by the United States, if he directs them to be surveyed at all. If they are not of National importance, and such is the opinion of the President, what authority has he to detail an engineer, with his instruments, to survey them? The conclusion I draw from his ordering the survey conditionally is, that he has decided the roads are of National importance, but that he does not consider himself restrained, restricted or controlled by the law. This is in accordance with his views of other laws. Since the passage of the act, at the late session of congress, appropriating different sums of money for internal improvements, he said (as was reported and believed) he would expend the appropriations or withhold them, as he thought proper."

In November of the year under consideration—1832—it was announced by the *New York Globe* that "the railroad which connects the waters of the Karitan with those of the Delaware will be completed in about a couple of weeks. The intercourse between New York and Philadelphia, through the railroad route, will then be open for travelers."

In March, 1833, the Maryland *Republican* states that "the supplement to the bill authorizing the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad company to construct a railroad to the city of Washington passed the house of delegates on Wednesday by a vote of 55 to 15, and will, no doubt, pass the senate; as it is in accordance with the proposition of the railroad company, there is no doubt

of the project progressing without delay, and we may look for its accomplishment at an early period. The state subscribes one-third of the capital and the books are to be opened for individual subscriptions for the balance. The railroad company are authorized to take what stock may not be subscribed within thirty days after the opening of the books, and may borrow funds to a certain amount on faith of the state, the payment of the principal and interest of which funds is secured by a pledge of the railroad itself. The maximum price for transporting passengers is fixed at two dollars and fifty cents, one-fifth of which is to be paid into the state treasury as a bonus for the charter. This will probably produce a revenue to the state, derived too, principally, from 'birds of passage,' of forty or fifty thousand dollars per annum, and increasing as the travel on that great thoroughfare between the north and south shall increase."

In April the welcome news comes from the south that the Charleston road is finished and available for transportation and traveling for a distance of seventy-two miles. "A locomotive engine traversed the line last week with the mail, several passengers and three or four tons of iron, in six hours, or at the average rate of twelve miles an hour." It was announced at about the same date that a line was to be constructed from Providence to Stonington, Connecticut, in continuation of the road from Boston. "Thus will the difficult voyage round Point Judith be

avoided and Boston be rendered only about twelve hours distant from New York." An act was passed by the legislature of Virginia authorizing the making of a railroad from Norfolk to the Roanoke—the corporation of Norfolk had subscribed \$69,000, and three-fifths of the stock being taken, a demand was made that the state should take the other two-fifths.

The extent to which the incorporation of railroad companies—which must not be considered as meaning the building of roads—had reached by the middle of 1833, can be understood somewhat from the record already made in one state. From the 'New York Annual Register' of 1833, we take the subjoined list of companies already incorporated in that state. It illustrates, as nothing else could, the mania for internal improvements that had for the time taken hold upon the people. The list as given by the 'Register' is as follows:

Albion & Tonawanda—from Albion to Batavia, incorporated in 1832, capital \$250,000.

Auburn & Erie Canal—from Auburn to Erie canal, incorporated in 1832, capital \$150,000.

Aurora & Buffalo—from Aurora to Buffalo, incorporated in 1832, capital \$300,000.

Brooklyn & Jamaica—from Brooklyn to Jamaica, incorporated in 1832, capital \$300,000.

Buffalo & Erie—from Buffalo to Erie county, Pennsylvania, incorporated in 1832, capital \$650,000.

Black River Company—from Rome to Ogdensburgh, incorporated in 1832, capital \$900,000.

Catskill & Canajoharie—from Catskill to Canajoharie, incorporated in 1830, capital \$600,000.

Dansville & Rochester—from Dansville to Rochester, incorporated in 1832, capital \$300,000.

Dutchess—from Poughkeepsie to Connecticut, incorporated in 1832, capital \$600,000.

Elmira & Williamsport—from Elmira to Pennsylvania, incorporated in 1832, capital \$75,000.

Fish House & Amsterdam—from Fish House to Amsterdam, incorporated in 1832, capital \$250,000.

Great Au Sable—from Great Au Sable to Port Kent and Peru, incorporated in 1832, capital \$150,000.

Harlaem—from Prince street, New York, to Harlaem, incorporated in 1831, capital \$350,000.

Hudson & Berkshire—from Hudson to Massachusetts state line, incorporated in 1832, capital \$350,000.

Hudson & Delaware—from Newburgh to Delaware river, incorporated in 1830, capital \$500,000.

Ithaca & Geneva—from Ithaca to Geneva, incorporated in 1832, capital \$800,000.

Ithaca & Owego—from Ithaca to Owego, incorporated in 1828, capital \$300,000.

Lake Champlain & Ogdensburgh—from Lake Champlain to Ogdensburgh, incorporated in 1832, capital \$3,000,000.

Mayville & Portland—from Portland

to Mayville, incorporated in 1832, capital \$150,000.

Mohawk & Hudson—from Schenectady to Albany, incorporated in 1826, capital \$600,000.

New York & Albany—from New York to Albany, incorporated in 1832, capital \$3,000,000.

New York & Erie—from New York to Lake Erie, incorporated in 1832, capital \$10,000,000.

Otsego—from Cooperstown to Colliersville, incorporated in 1832, capital \$200,000.

Rensselaer & Saratoga—from Troy to Ballston, incorporated in 1832, capital \$300,000.

Rochester—from Rochester to Genesee Port, incorporated in 1831, capital \$30,000.

Saratoga & Fort Edward—from Saratoga Springs to Fort Edward, incorporated in 1832, capital \$200,000.

Saratoga & Schenectady—from Saratoga Springs to Schuylersville, incorporated in 1832, capital \$100,000.

Schoharie & Otsego—from Schoharie county to Susquehanna river, incorporated in 1832, capital \$300,000.

Ponawanda—from Rochester to Attica, incorporated in 1832, capital \$500,000.

Utica & Susquehanna—from Utica to Susquehanna river, incorporated in 1832, capital \$1,000,000.

Warren County—from Glenn's Falls to Warrensburg, incorporated in 1832, capital \$2,500,000.

Watertown & Rome—from Rome to Watertown, incorporated in 1832, capital \$1,000,000. Total, \$17,555,000.

The railroads at present in operation are :

The Mohawk & Hudson—from Albany to Schenectady, 15 miles.

The Saratoga & Schenectady—from Schenectady to Saratoga Springs, 21 miles.

Total, 36 miles.

These two railroads form a continued line from Albany to Saratoga Springs.

The principal works under contract, or in progress, are :

The Ithaca & Owego railroad, length 29 miles.

Harlaem railroad—from Harlaem, city of New York, to the Bowery, near Prince street, length 7 miles.

The disproportion between the lines projected and those completed or under contract is not the least instructing and interesting feature of this statement.

In June books were opened for stock subscriptions for a road from Philadelphia, through Lancaster, to Middletown, with an idea of "extending it to the Ohio in due season." In August word came from the far-off south, *via* the *Floridian*, that a subscription had been opened in Tallahassee for the purpose of establishing a road from that city to some point on the St. Marks or Mankulla river. On August 14 the ceremony of breaking ground upon the New York, Providence & Boston road occurred at Stonington, in the presence of a large company of interested spectators. "The spades were taken by John S. Cr  ry, esq., of New York, president of the company, and by their excellencies Governor Edwards of Connecticut and Governor Francis of Rhode Island.

The work was then commenced in both states."

On October 14 a large convention of delegates assembled at Bolivar, Tennessee, to take into consideration measures by which the railroad advantages already under way in the north and east could be secured to their section of the country. Major-General E. P. Gaines of the regular army presided. After proper discussion, a series of resolutions was adopted, which declared that a railroad between the Mississippi river and the Atlantic ocean, "to pass through the southwest border of the state of Tennessee, the northern parts of the states of Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia, and the southern part of South Carolina, is practicable and desirable; that its anticipated local benefits and National advantages may reasonably be estimated as greatly to exceed the whole expense of its construction, and that it ought to be commenced forthwith." It was added that military necessity demanded the construction of such a road, and that, in a political point of view, it would be found to be "one of the strongest links in the chain of the union of the twenty-four states." A committee was appointed, by which the matter might be properly presented to the law-makers and the people.

About the first of December the road from Paterson, New Jersey, to New York, was opened. A correspondent of the *National Intelligencer*, under date of August 28, 1834, makes an unique proposition, which is worthy of preservation, as illustrating the varied propositions that were made in those days when

every railroad projector seemed to think that the National treasury should be opened for railroad uses. "I would propose," said he, "that the charter of the Bank of the United States be renewed on terms mutually acceptable to the government and to the stockholders, on condition that the bank shall construct a railroad from the city of Richmond to Mobile, or some other point on navigable waters sufficient for steamboats of a large class, in the state of Alabama; and that the institution shall have power to collect such rates for tolls and transportation as shall be sufficient to defray expenses and yield an interest upon the capital invested of not less than five per cent. per annum. I mention Richmond as the point of departure, because a railroad has been authorized by the state of Virginia, and is now about to be constructed from Fredericksburgh to Richmond, which will form a link in the chain of upwards of one hundred miles, with a very slight deviation from a direct line. It would also afford to millions of travelers the gratification of passing through the metropolis of the ancient Dominion—one of the main pillars of our Confederacy, the birthplace of genius and patriotism. The total distance from Richmond to Mobile appears to be, by reference to the map, about nine hundred and fifty miles, of which there are between eighty and ninety miles of railroad now in use, from Petersburg to the Roanoke, also on the line of the proposed National highway; consequently about eight hundred and fifty miles would be required to be con-

structed by the bank. Thirteen millions of dollars would be requisite to accomplish the work, and with the capital in hand, twenty thousand laborers might be put upon the work during the next year. Its completion would perfect a line of communication from Boston to St. Louis, in Missouri, by steam-power, and could not fail to advance the United States, in prosperity, at least twenty years beyond its present condition. It would be worth to Louisiana fifty million dollars, and would greatly increase the value of land upon all the western waters."

In February, 1835, it was announced that the Trenton & Brunswick Turnpike company had resolved to lay rails on their road, "notwithstanding the legislature of New Jersey has refused them an act to authorize their doing so, on account of the *monopoly* granted to the Camden & Amboy Railroad company. This proceeding will take place under advice of some of the most distinguished jurists of the United States." In the same month the Tuscumbia, Courtland & Decatur road—Alabama—was finished and the trains set rolling upon it. "Thirty odd cars are now in operation on the road, but we understand the number is quite inadequate to the amount of business required immediately to be done. Other cars are being prepared at the railroad foundry, and another locomotive has been received at New Orleans from Liverpool, which is daily expected." Four hundred thousand dollars in stock were promptly subscribed for the Wilmington & Susquehanna road, which was

designed to connect Wilmington with Simper's Point, at the head of Northeast river, five miles from Havre de Grace.

The New York *Star*, in March of this year—1835—attempts to arouse home patriotism by pointing out the advance already made by Pennsylvania because of her internal improvements, and takes the ground that great activity on the part of New York will alone save to her a portion of that growing trade with the fast opening west. "There is no subject of more vital interest," it declares, "to the trade and prosperity of our state than the herculean effort now being made and, indeed, carried into successful execution by Pennsylvania, of diverting the commerce of this city with the south through her state in preference to our own line of internal communications with the lakes. It is a fact that Philadelphia and Pennsylvania will realize this golden dream of their ambition by the cheaper facilities and earlier opportunities which their route offers to our merchants, unless we bestir ourselves in time and nip their enterprise in the bud by opening a direct route from New York city to Lake Erie by the great contemplated railroad. . . . The route from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh is now complete in all its parts: First by the beautiful railroad from Philadelphia to Columbia, on the Susquehanna river, on which there is a full train of passenger and freight cars of the first class; thence by canal to Harrisburgh and Haldaysburgh by a splendid line of boats; thence by the Alleghany & Portage railroad across the mountains, by

ten inclined planes, thirty-six and one-half miles, to Johnstown, where another canal leads direct to Pittsburgh, on the Ohio; thus opening the portals to the great waters of the west—the lakes, the canals of Ohio, etc."

Among the new enterprises announced in April was a line from Portland, Maine, to Quebec, and it was declared that "Lord Alymer, the governor-general of British America, heartily unites in the project and has opened correspondence with the governor of Maine. All the stock was subscribed for a line from Saratoga Springs to Whitehall, New York, and it was exultingly declared that "when this is completed, as it soon will be, persons will be carried by steam from the city of New York to Quebec, to-wit: From New York to Albany by steamboats; from Albany, *via* Saratoga, to Whitehall, by the railroad; from Whitehall to St. Johns, in Canada, down Lake Champlain, by steamboat; from St. Johns to Laprarie by a railroad nearly completed; from Laprarie to Montreal, and thence to Quebec, by steamboat!"

Stirred up by the arguments advanced above, by state pride and a deep belief in the profits of this kind of investments, the people of New York responded nobly to the calls for support, and subscriptions to the various roads, especially to the Erie, came in rapidly. The expectations of the benefits that were to be derived from it were equaled only by the generosity of the people in their subscriptions to stock. "The immense commercial importance of the direct connection to be effected by

means of the proposed road and the Allegheny river," declared the *New York American*, "between the city of New York and the Valley of the Mississippi, is but imperfectly realized or understood. Let it then be distinctly known to our merchants that the moment the line of the Erie railroad reaches the Allegheny river their merchandise can be delivered on its banks, from their warehouses in this city, within thirty-six hours; that it can thence descend down the safe though rapid current of that stream, in less than two days, to the wharves of Pittsburgh; that this navigation is always available precisely at the period when most needed, to-wit: In the months of March and April, and that the river, with small expense, can be rendered navigable throughout the whole summer and autumn. The enormous importance then, of accomplishing this connection with the utmost possible dispatch, must then be evident. It is the only mode in which New York can neutralize the gigantic efforts making by Philadelphia to deprive her of the commerce of the west, but, when completed, will most effectually accomplish that object. Pittsburgh will thenceforward cease to be the western emporium of Pennsylvania, and, with her long line of sister cities and communities along the Valley of the Ohio, will become attached, as a commercial dependency, to this metropolis."

Four companies of engineers were busy, during these spring months of 1835, in surveying a line from New Orleans to Nashville. The route be-

tween Lexington and Louisville, Kentucky, had been agreed upon; the corporation of the place last named subscribed two hundred thousand dollars to complete it; while the road from Frankfort to Louisville was reported as "going on handsomely." Efforts were under way for steam connection between Hudson, New York, and Berkshire, Massachusetts. A grand scheme for internal improvement was projected in Louisiana, the legislature of that state chartering a company under the title of "The Atchafaylaya Railroad & Banking Company," one of the obligations of which was the construction of a railroad from some convenient point on the Mississippi river to the rich districts of Opelousas, Lafayette, St. Martin's and St. Mary's, and thereby to secure a large trade for the city of New Orleans. The capital of the corporation was placed at two million dollars, with power to double it if necessary. Passing on rapidly through June, we find an endless number of minor suggestions. The project of a line from Wheeling creek to Stillwater creek is revived and will be carried out; a line is being run from the Delaware to the Atlantic, across New Jersey; books are open for one from York to Wrightsville; the early opening of Boston & Providence is promised; the Connecticut legislature has incorporated the Worcester & Hartford company with a capital of one million dollars, with power to increase it if necessary, and, to crown all, the cheering announcement that Jonathan Knight, chief engineer of the Baltimore & Ohio, has discovered

three passes over the Alleghanies, "with an ascent of ninety-four feet in a mile—an elevation" that, it is promised, "the Baltimore locomotives will overcome without any sort of difficulty." About the end of the month the ceremony of breaking ground for the Wilmington & Susquehanna road occurred in the presence of the governor and other dignitaries and a large concourse of people.

An important occasion was commemorated on July 6, when the long-awaited and much-heralded Boston & Worcester road was formally opened and dedicated to the public use with fitting ceremonies. Its length was about forty-two miles, which distance was traveled by the company of invited guests in about three hours. A banquet and speech-making followed. Some of the toasts offered were characteristic and unique, for instance:

"Railroads—The *people* will bear to be rode, and *hardly rode*, by such monopolies."

"The march of capital and enterprise—May it go hand in hand with the march of intellect and morals, and result in the increased prosperity and virtue of the people"—offered by no less a personage than Edward Everett.

"The fourth of July, 1776—When we made ourselves independent of *asses*; and the fourth of July, 1835, when we made ourselves independent of *horses*."

A speech was made by Henry Williams, one of the directors, in which he let some light in upon the history of the enterprise, and touched upon an unpleasant experience which other pioneer

roads were compelled to undergo. "A few years since," said he, after a suitable introduction, "the project was started. It had many warm and high-spirited friends and advocates; it had also many strong and powerful enemies. And who does not distinctly remember who and what they were? Strange as it may seem, they were principally to be found among the rich and powerful—among the very class of men who, possessing the most ample means, it might and ought to have been expected would have been first and foremost in advocating and prosecuting an important, a noble public enterprise. True, there were honorable exceptions. but it cannot be denied that very many great men, very many rich men, refused all participation, scoffed at our project, pointed at some of us the finger of scorn and branded us with the epithets of 'hare-brained enthusiasts, visionaries, who almost deserved to be sent to the mad-house.' All this was said, nay more; for when the first spade was stuck in the ground, the directors were called fools, idiots, knaves. It was declared that they were guilty of a high crime in commencing a work which must inevitably result in as total a loss as if the money expended were shoveled into the bottomless pit. All this was said, and much more, and measures were actually taken to arrest the work and to cause an abandonment of the enterprise. Thanks to the true friends of the project, they stood firm, and with warm hearts and a just confidence in those who had been chosen to prosecute the work, manfully and suc-

cessfully resisted all attempts to crush the noble project. The road had a sorry beginning. At first, some of our prominent men were willing to advance a few dollars to make examinations and surveys, but when called upon to take and pay for the stock, they flinched, and vociferously cried out that 'it was madness to go on, that the road would cost three times the amount of the estimates, and that if ever it should be built, it would be next to worthless, it could never pay a half per cent. on its cost.' Here we are, my friends, in the town hall of the heart of the commonwealth. We came here on the railroad, all the way from Boston, in less than three hours. This is truly a day of rejoicing, a day of complete and full triumph, and again I offer you my hearty congratulations. The road is finished. But who has accomplished the work? Has it been done by the rich men, the great men of the times? By our quarter, half and whole million men? No, sir! It has been accomplished by the bone and muscle of the community; by the middling interest people; by that class of men who have warm hearts, clear heads, and who possess almost a monopoly of generous public spirit."

After further eulogy in the same strain, he concluded by offering the following toast, which was received with many marks of approbation:

"The *people, the common people, the middling interest people*—They are really and truly the *bone and muscle* of the community; their power is great; what can they not accomplish?"

The editor of 'Niles' Register,* on August 29 following, describes a ceremony of a like character he had the pleasure of attending a few days before, upon the formal opening of the Baltimore & Washington road. A procession of seventeen cars, loaded each with fifty guests, and drawn by the locomotives "George Washington," "John Adams," "Thomas Jefferson" and "James Madison," left Baltimore and proceeded to Bladensburg, where another train, from Washington, was met, "filled with public functionaries and other invited guests, where congratulations on the result of the labors of the railroad company were passed between the mayor of Washington and the president of the company." "The whole party then proceeded to Washington, and soon arrived at the depot at the foot of Capitol hill, where a vast crowd of people was assembled, and rent the air with their acclamations *at this victory over time and space.*" Some time was spent in visiting various points of interest, and "at twenty minutes before five o'clock we started from Washington, and in two hours and twenty minutes were at the depot at Charles street. . . . It is thus ascertained that from Baltimore to Washington, forty miles, is distant *but two hours!*"

The *Railroad Journal* of October 10 this year, 1835, furnishes an account of a celebration held in Sandusky, Ohio, in September, over the opening of the first railroad west of the Alleghany mountains—the Mad River & Lake Erie.

* No. 49, p. 449.

It was described as "the railroad that is to connect that fine lake port with Dayton, and thence, through the Miami canal, with the Ohio and Cincinnati." On January 5, 1832, a charter was obtained, and within a short time sufficient funds were subscribed to organize the company. Ground was broken at the east end of Water street, in Sandusky, on the day named, General W. H. Harrison, afterwards President of the United States, taking out the first shovelful of earth, in which he was assisted by Governor Vance. The occasion was a memorable one, and an immense concourse of people was present, and grand processions were formed by Colonel John N. Sloane, the grand marshal of the day. The oration was delivered by Honorable E. Cooke. Several bands of martial music were present. Quite a band of Indian chiefs was in the procession, and the National flags and bunting in great quantity were displayed.

In September further news came from the south, in the statement that the New Orleans & Nashville road was to be commenced immediately, with a length of five hundred and sixty-five miles, and at a cost of ten million dollars and over. It was the purpose of its projectors to make it "one of the most perfect works that the present state of science and art will permit." "This," to quote the glowing declarations of the southern press, "by facilitating the mails and transit of passengers, will render it, in a commercial point of view, *the most important improvement ever projected*;

and, in case of invasion, the south may have a more prompt resource in the western militia, as cantonments in the vicinity of Nashville, where the abundance of provision and health of the climate are equal to any in the world, can be made for the rendezvous of the western army, and, when required, transferred to the coast at a single day's notice."

New York is yet busy with her various proposed lines, and the *Gazette*, in October, gives us some idea of "the magnitude of the operations now in progress on the Harlem road." "The tunnel commences at the southerly side of Ninety-first street, and terminates at the northerly side of Ninety-fourth street. Each end of the tunnel will be finished with a handsome stone facing, so as to give it a conspicuous and pleasing appearance. The embankment commences at One Hundredth street, and extends to One Hundred and Sixth street there. This will be a most substantial work, as the whole will be supported by slope walls of dry masonry." To this the *Commercial Advertiser* adds that "the undertaking is of greater magnitude than we had supposed. The tunnel alone will require more than a year for its completion, ninety feet having been accomplished in about two months, and the whole length being eight hundred and forty-four. . . . The whole number of men employed is more than six hundred, who work day and night, in gangs of twenty-five, eight hours at a time."

The first hint of a Pacific road that I have met in these researches—although

it may have been previously given elsewhere—is found in this same month of October, in the *New Orleans Bee*, which declares that it hears that “a project will soon be started of *connecting New Orleans with the Gulf of California*, through Texas, by a railroad, hence *via Natchitoches or Nacogdoches*, through the gorge of the Rocky mountains, and thence to some point on the gulf where a good harbor may be found. We have learned,” continues the *Bee*, “from those who have traversed the mountains at the gorge, that a railroad could easily be constructed there, and that as soon as peace shall have been restored in Texas the citizens of that state will anxiously aid any efforts on the part of the New Orleans merchants to form thus a direct intercourse with China. Is not such a route as practicable as one by the Isthmus of Panama? Shall the merchants of New Orleans continue slumbering over the prospects which nature has indicated to them, which even cupidity suggests, and which requires but the energies of wealth and art to complete? We grasp in prospect the almost certainty of having a railroad across the mountains to the Gulf of California, from which we can command the Pacific ocean, send our steam-ships thence to China, the East Indies, Persia—to all Asia and the west of Africa, and vastly outstrip the little queen of the ocean enthroned on the northwest of Europe. O that Texas belonged to the United States! Do we not perceive that England is making every effort to anticipate our rapid strides to facilities and extension of commerce with Asia?

That she even meditates a steamboat navigation by the Euphrates and Red sea to the Eastern ocean? And that the potentates of Egypt, Turkey and Persia must play second fiddle to her attempts? Shall the citizens of America slumber supinely with such prospects before them of forestalling the Asiatic markets, and of extending their commerce to every part of the world? Can they not perceive their superior facilities of forming an intercourse with China and that they might voyage a second time thither before Englishmen could once, even by the Mediterranean?”

In November a proposition is made to construct a line from Cincinnati, Ohio, to Charleston, South Carolina, and a weary editor, to whom marvels have grown stale and for whom, in railroads, there is nothing new under the sun, supposes that “it will be done,” as a matter of course. “It will pass,” he adds, “through Paris, Kentucky, the Cumberland gap to French Broad, and thence through Columbia to Charleston. The distance is *only 607 miles!*” The proposition was received with the warmest commendations at both ends of the proposed line, Cincinnati figuring out that the Charleston route to the Ohio was “340 miles nearer to the seaboard than the route by New York, 240 nearer than by Philadelphia, 40 nearer than by Baltimore, and 170 nearer than by Mobile,” while a spirit of enthusiasm and hope was aroused immediately in the city by the sea. The Charleston *Courier* declared that “the contemplated railroad may be made to cross (the Saludi mountain) with more

facility than was at first imagined." A correspondent, in writing to the *Courier*, declared that the governor of North Carolina favored the scheme, and added: "Indeed, I may truly say that the very mountains are in commotion. Old Buncombe is as much roused as she ever was in the days of the Revolution, and well may she be, for if this road is constructed, passing through the very centre of one of the healthiest, though hitherto one of the most inaccessible regions of the south, it will work a revolution—morally, physically and politically—as important to this section of the country as that effected in 1776."

This was not the isolated feeling of one man alone, but such was the fervor of railroad building upon the people that all—high and low, rich and poor—were, in the Carolinas, as elsewhere, moved by a common impulse of enterprise. I have seen the copy of a letter written on November 18, 1835, by Judge John B. O'Neill to Senator Robert Y. Hayne—the eminent son of South Carolina, who participated in the famous debate with Daniel Webster—in which he declared that he had said to everyone with whom he had conversed, "that every man who could spare one hundred dollars ought to lay it out in stock in this enterprise. In this way the farmer and small capitalist may be induced to unite in the work, and if this can be done, we need have no fears for the road. It can be constructed, if necessary, by South Carolina alone. In addition to the opening of books for the stock by commissioners at every court-house in the state, I would suggest that a few agents, acquainted with the people, should be employed to obtain subscriptions. There is no scheme of internal improvement which has ever so much interested me, and none for which I should be willing to make so many sacrifices. For if it succeeds, South Carolina will be prosperous beyond all former calculations, and the union of the states will be as lasting as the rocks and mountains which will be passed and overcome by the contemplated road."

An important event in the history of New York railroads was the "Internal Improvement Convention of the State of New York," which assembled at Utica on November 11 of this year. Delegates from many sections were present and steps were taken to awaken an activity in all quarters, lest New York should be behind her sister cities in the great march of National improvement. The general feeling in that body was voiced by the declarations of the *Railroad Journal*,* which addressed itself to the people in these plain words: "It is, however, in this age of improved locomotion, a subject of the first importance, as well to the whole country as to this city, that other modes of communication should be adopted between this great commercial emporium and the vast country which contributes to its prosperity, that there may be a constant, easy, cheap, expeditious and *unobstructed* intercourse, not only for travel but also for transportation *at all seasons of the year*. . . . It therefore becomes our imperative duty to urge forward those great works that have

* Vol. IV., December 12, 1835, p. 770.

been projected, which, when completed, will not only annihilate time and space, but also *water and ice*, so far as they have hitherto tended to obstruct the regular course of business between this city and Albany and the western part of the state. The charter granted in 1832 for a railroad from this city to Albany, on the east side of the Hudson, will, beyond all question, be renewed during the ensuing winter by our legislature; and the road *must now*, of course, be constructed, by way of self-defense, in consequence of the determination of the people of Boston to remove up to Albany, or rather, to remove Albany and a good portion of our western business to Boston by the railroad between these two cities."

At about this period we find that the era of lease and consolidation has com-

menced, an arrangement having been made between the Long Island (New York) and Jamaica railroads, by which the latter was leased to the former, for a period of forty-five years, upon the annual payment of nine per cent. of the entire cost, the lessees engaging to keep the road in good and efficient order.

This hurried and somewhat disconnected survey of a field full of promises, of possibilities, of hopes that in many cases were never fulfilled, and of investments that in too many cases were entire losses, has brought us down to the close of the year 1835. All was as yet roseate, while new plans were maturing and new roads growing—upon paper if not in fact—in every corner of the land.

J. H. KENNEDY.

[To be continued.]

THE RAILROAD MEN OF AMERICA.

DEAN RICHMOND.

Dean Richmond, who for a long series of years was recognized as a vital force in the financial, political and railway world of New York, won his way into the front rank of his generation by sheer energy, hard work, and a genius for overcoming obstacles and making circumstances the servants of his will. He won success in life because he had the will to command it, and the keen vision that enabled him to read the signs of the times and shape

his course in accordance therewith. He was truly the architect of his own fortunes, inheriting nothing from the generations before him but an honored family name and the high qualities of character for which the Richmonds of New England were noted. Born at Barnard, Vermont, on March 31, 1804, the son of Hatheway Richmond and Rachel Dean, he had before him in the lives of his parents an example of industry and worth that was

the best object lesson to be learned by any developing youth. The father was for some years engaged in the manufacture of salt at Salina, New York, now a part of Syracuse; but failing in this enterprise, he abandoned it and went south to improve his health, which had been much affected by the anxiety and vexation consequent upon his business affairs. While there he died, at Mobile, leaving the widow and son—the latter only fourteen years of age—dependent upon their own exertions. The mother removed from her home in Vermont to Salina, in the hope of turning what was left of her husband's business to some account. It was at this period, when at an age when most boys were yet in school, that the young Dean showed the material of which he was made. He resolutely took up the business relinquished by his father, and with little else save the debts of the old concern and a capital composed of health and energy, began his active life. A year later, the death of his mother left him altogether to his own resources. The market for salt had through various causes been somewhat limited for the product of that section, but the energy with which the young man pushed the sale soon extended it to several new districts, particularly in the north and east, and ere long the business began to yield a satisfactory income. Prospering in this enterprise, he soon embarked in others in which he also commanded success. In 1842 he removed to Buffalo, where he engaged in the commission and transporting business, dealing principally with the products of the great west.

Bringing to his business operations, which had then assumed great extent and importance, the wise foresight and judgment which ever characterized him, he became in the course of a few years one of the wealthiest and most influential men in the lake region.

It was while located in Buffalo, and while in the midst of this active career in various lines of business usefulness, that Mr. Richmond found his first connection with railroad affairs. He was made a director of the Utica & Buffalo Railroad company, and when the direct line to Batavia was completed, he took up his residence at the place last named, which continued to be his home for the remainder of his life, although the headquarters of his business were still retained at Buffalo. His trained business judgment and keen vision gave him some idea as to what the infant railroad systems of the country must eventually become, and he therefore early attached himself to the most promising in his section—the initial step being taken in the connection above described. His connection with the New York Central company was one of the great events of his railroad career. When the Erie railroad was finished to Lake Erie, and the Pennsylvania Central had completed its track, it was apparent that the several companies which afterwards composed the New York Central could not successfully compete with those great lines unless they were consolidated and operated as one system and by one controlling mind. Here were seven distinct corporations, each one managed independently of all the others, while the sub-roads were controlled each by a single

board of directors. Consolidation became, therefore, a matter of pressing necessity. The line could not be advantageously maintained without it. In 1853 the bill creating the New York Central railroad was carried through the legislature against the most determined and virulent opposition—an opposition so powerful that nothing but the sagacity, address and perseverance of Mr. Richmond could have prevailed against it. When consolidation was carried, Mr. Richmond was made vice-president of the company, a place that he held until he was made president on the retirement of Mr. Corning, in 1864. He was also president of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern railroad for a number of years preceding his death. While connected with the New York Central, the company relied most implicitly on his judgment, and never undertook any enterprise of importance without first submitting it to him for advice and approbation. His record as a railroad man is shown in the growth of that great property while under his control, and the measures which he set going or advanced for its improvement and enlargement; and no matter what honor of labor or design may be given to others in the upbuilding of the great Central system, a large share properly belongs to Dean Richmond, and becomes his monument of railroad work. He labored at a time of uncertainty, discouragement and difficulty, and his success was all the greater from the size and variety of the obstacles he was compelled to confront.

Mr. Richmond was the first American railroad man to order steel rails; he met with much opposition in his advancement

of the idea of their utility, but had a number laid on trial. He was so well pleased with the results that he ordered from England what in those days was considered a large order. They arrived in this country after his death.

This record would be inadequate and one-sided did it speak only of Dean Richmond's railroad work. And while it will be impossible, as it is needless, to speak in detail of the many business enterprises with which he was connected through an exceptionally long and active career, some general reference thereto is demanded. In business operations Mr. Richmond had very fixed views, and adhered to them with a persistence born of conviction and a firm belief in his judgment. Indeed, his judgment had passed into a proverb among his associates, and was as implicitly relied on as if it had been infallible. His knowledge of business affairs was not derived merely from intuition, although he possessed this faculty in a truly wonderful degree, but also from actual observation and experience, and through precision of reflection. His private business always possessed a charm for him, greatly superior to the allurements of office or public life. Esteeming it a duty every man owed to his country, and believing that business men in particular should interest themselves in the National welfare, he gave close attention to politics, although deeming his private interests of paramount importance, regarding the prosperity of the citizen as the corner-stone of the prosperity of the state. His political convictions were very strong and were steadfastly maintained. Possessed of a great capacity for work, he gave the most

careful attention to political affairs, no matter how absorbing were his business duties, and he entered into each new campaign with as much zest as when in his earlier days he had led the young Democrats of Onondaga to victory. Essentially a man of action, and unfettered by any of the prejudices or conservatism which so frequently trammel the careers of superiorly educated men, he was eminently fitted for leadership. His views in politics, as in business, were broad, and grasped National affairs with no more difficulty than matters purely local. His motives were so sincere and honest that they were never questioned, and in the councils of his party he was acknowledged as a chief, and his views, to a large extent, were unhesitatingly adopted, and shaped the policy of his associates. Whenever means, honestly employed, seemed to him likely to aid the principles he advocated, his liberality was princely. He enjoyed the unlimited confidence of his political associates, and exerted a greater influence in the Democratic party than any other man in the state. He was chairman of the Democratic State Central committee for many consecutive years, from about 1857 until his death in 1866. Mr. Richmond's prominent and unique relation to the party is clearly and forcibly shown in the following tribute offered by no less a personage than Honorable Samuel J. Tilden, who, at the request of several prominent leaders, made a speech upon the life-work of Dean Richmond—after that life-work had ended—in the Democratic State convention of September, 1866: "It is rare," said he, "in any country or in any age, that the death of a private citizen hold-

ing no public office, never having held a public office in his whole life, connected with great business interests, it is true, connected more than any other individual with the organization and administration of a great party, composed of nearly four hundred thousand American citizens—it is rare that the death of an individual so unobtrusive in his life, so quiet in his demeanor, should have sunk the people of an entire state under a sense of a great calamity, almost as if the First Magistrate of the Nation had died. A private citizen, largely endowed by nature with those qualities superior to anything that can be taught in the schools of learning, those great endowments of judgment—clear, decisive, comprehensive; of a will firm, decisive and nicely balanced; of a caution and circumspection rarely to be found; with a man of this character and these rare qualities, a man of the people, untaught in the schools, it is surprising that he should acquire that extraordinary degree of influence which was possessed by our lamented friend. I remember very well in 1864, when the Nation was anxiously looking for a candidate for the highest office in its gift, public opinion turned very generally to this gentleman. He was modest—modest in his estimate of his own capabilities and powers beyond what any of us who had happened to have opportunities of larger training in the schools would have thought necessary, for the things he possessed least he valued highest, and, as men have thought, too high. I remember when it was said, with every appearance of probability, that he could be nominated for that high office with the concurrence of a very large

number of the Republican party, with a tender of support from gentlemen as eminent as any in the country, but whose names it would be indelicate now to mention. Mr. Richmond firmly and persistently refused to entertain the idea. It is my firm conviction that except for that refusal his nomination was entirely possible and his election extremely probable. I remember he said with characteristic modesty on that occasion, 'I know what I am fit for, and what I am not.' He formed a judgment—founded on his idea of what a man should be to undertake the duties of the Chief Magistrate in respect to the habit, training and manner of life and education. He firmly and persistently refused all these tenders because he did not deem himself adapted to that station. Yet with his rare powers of discernment and judgment, his great skill in the selection of agents, for whatever purpose he chose to apply his faculties to, there can be no doubt that he greatly overrated his own deficiencies, and greatly overvalued those opportunities which he had not himself in his early career enjoyed. So happily endowed by nature, and perhaps largely taught by the experience of his long and varied life, I think he was one of the best formed and ablest men whom I ever had the opportunity to know, although it has been my opportunity to see some of the ablest men this country and state have produced for the last generation."

While Mr. Richmond's mental qualities were all that the foregoing describes, they were even excelled by his goodness of heart. Many noble deeds of his

benevolence might be related. Frequently, without being appealed to, he would relieve distress in the most generous and substantial manner. The poor were not to him a class apart to be fed with the crumbs from his well-filled table, but sharers in a common humanity, whose necessities it was a privilege and pleasure as much as a duty to relieve. His acts of philanthropy were so numerous and so disinterested and generous, that they defied attempts at concealment, and his name became as well known in New York for kindness of heart as it was for political astuteness and sagacity. In his social relations he was a good friend, and kindly and genial; while in the privacy of the family circle his noble qualities shone with lustre.

It was out of a life of such usefulness, and a career which was followed for the good of the many, that Mr. Richmond was called, in the summer of 1866. He had left the seashore, where he had been with his family, to attend the Saratoga convention, going in company with Mr. Tilden. From there the two distinguished gentlemen proceeded to Philadelphia and Washington, and returned to New York on the night of Saturday, August 18. Mr. Richmond stopped at the St. Nicholas, and on Sunday went to Mr. Tilden's residence, where he was taken seriously ill; and although all that skill or love could compass were freely used in his aid, it was all in vain—death relieving him from his suffering on August 27. The marks of respect paid his memory by high and low, and the words of sorrow and sympathy that came to the bereaved friends from all



Yours
D. D. S. Brown

sections of the country, voiced the world's appreciation of the goodness and greatness of the departed as nothing else could have done.

DYER D. S. BROWN.

The influence had by Dyer D. S. Brown upon the railroad interests of his section of the country, his native talent, strong individuality and marked professional and business success made him for years one of the leading figures in western New York. Altogether a self-made man in the truest sense of the term, he won his way into the front rank by his own industry, talents and inherent force; and there was much about him that makes it proper that some account of his life should go upon the permanent historical record.

Mr. Brown was born in Richmond, Ontario county, New York, June 19, 1819, the descendant of sturdy and patriotic New England stock, which had made its presence and courage known in the battles of the Revolution and in the earlier French and Indian wars. His father was a farmer, and, consequently, his boyhood years were passed on the paternal acres, his preliminary education being such as the public schools of his native town afforded. He had, however, made such good use of these, that in the spring of 1839 he taught school at West Richmond. He completed his studies at the Genesee Wesleyan seminary, at Lima, in the fall and winter of 1839-40, and for some years thereafter engaged in school teaching at Caledonia, Fowlersville and Mum-

ford, his most extended service being at the place last named. As a teacher he was thorough and systematic, and yet kind, patient and courteous in his bearing toward his pupils, with a rare faculty of imparting instruction, and his labors were crowned with marked success.

Natural fitness, an ambition that enlarged with his growth, and by those urging who recognized the strong mental powers with which he was endowed, led the young man toward the study of the law, and all his energies were bent toward that end. Carefully husbanding his resources while teaching, he was enabled in the fall of 1844 to begin the study of his chosen profession at Geneseo, in the office of Honorable Benjamin F. Angel, subsequently minister resident of the United States to Sweden and Norway, and also with Judge Willard H. Smith, at Caledonia. He studied with diligence, and in 1846 passed a creditable examination, and was admitted to practice. He located at Scottsville, Monroe county, which place was his home through the remainder of his life, although for a large portion of that forty years of usefulness he was intimately associated with the business interests of Rochester, where he spent the greater portion of his working hours. He soon built up a fine practice in Scottsville, and acquired the reputation of an exact, a painstaking

and well-informed lawyer, faithful to his clients and upright in all his dealings with his professional brethren.

Mr. Brown became actively interested in politics at an early day, and held that interest all through after life. He was of the Democratic faith, with pronounced anti-slavery tendencies, which subsequently developed into positive conviction and aggressive action. His first experience in any form of public life was in 1847, when he was appointed to the office of canal collector at Scottsville. In 1848 Mr. Brown affiliated himself with the so-called Barnburner element of the Democratic party, and heartily supported the National Free-soil ticket of Van Buren and Adams. He cast his vote for General Pierce in 1852, and during a portion of that administration, held the office of postmaster at Scottsville. But when the grave questions were evolved out of slavery and the Kansas-Nebraska agitation compelled a close drawing of the lines between the friends of slavery and of freedom, Mr. Brown was found upon the right side. Because he could no longer uphold the principles of the administration by which he had been appointed, he resigned his office, and, upon the formation of the Republican party, cast his fortunes in with it. In 1858 he was named as the nominee of that party for county clerk of Monroe county, to which office he was elected after a close and exciting canvass. For three years he administered the affairs of this trust with marked ability and faithfulness, and to the satisfaction of the public and the

bar. In January, 1862, he resumed the practice of the law.

Long ere this, Mr. Brown had shown a masterful capacity for political organization, and had become a recognized Republican leader, not only of affairs in his own county but also in the state. In 1860 he was a member of the memorable National convention of that year, and adhered faithfully to the fortunes of Honorable William H. Seward, the favorite son of New York, until the die was cast that gave Abraham Lincoln to the party, to his country and to fame. Mr. Brown was very energetic in the canvass of that year, and contributed essentially to the magnificent Republican majorities recorded in his section of the state. In March, 1863, he entered the Union army as pay-master, with the rank of major, and continued therein until September, 1864, when serious illness from disease contracted in the service compelled him to resign.

On January 1, 1865, Mr. Brown entered upon yet another field of public labor and usefulness, by the purchase of a controlling interest in the Rochester *Democrat*, which he retained until its consolidation with the *Chronicle* in December, 1870, continuing when that widely known journal was called the Rochester *Democrat and Chronicle*. Of the association known as the Rochester Printing company, publishers of the *Democrat and Chronicle*, he was president for nearly two years, when he retired, but retained a business interest therein. Under his management, as-

sisted by able lieutenants, the *Democrat* assumed a leading position in state politics, and its course was marked by a number of important incidents, notably its early nomination of General Grant for the Presidency, its zealous support of Roscoe Conkling in the canvass in which he was first elected to the United States senate, its earnest advocacy of the preferment of Reuben E. Fenton, and its ardent support of Lewis Selye as a candidate for congress in 1866. It was bold in its utterances, gave blows with vigor, received them with courage, and was respected alike by friends and foes for the sincerity and vigor of its course. Mr. Brown was himself one of the four delegates-at-large from New York to the National Republican convention of 1868, and there, after joining in the unanimous vote for General Grant as a Presidential candidate, labored, in common with the New York delegation, for the selection of Governor Fenton for the vice-presidency. But, although unsuccessful in this case, he did effective service for his friend in the exciting struggle which resulted in Mr. Fenton's election to the United States senate. In 1872 Mr. Brown was one of the leaders in the Liberal-Republican movement, and a delegation to the convention of that party, held in Cincinnati; but although he was a warm, personal friend to Mr. Greeley, he did not believe his nomination expedient, his preference being for Judge David Davis, yet he gave the nominee of the party an earnest and honorable support. In 1876 he supported the candidacy of Mr. Tilden,

not because he was a Democrat, but from a natural independence of spirit, backed by a sincere personal belief in Mr. Tilden as a reformer and a great executive. From that year until the end of his life, Mr. Brown acted in the main with the Republican party, being a delegate to several of its conventions, and earnestly favoring the election of Garfield in 1880, and of Mr. Blaine in 1884. In commenting upon the career of Mr. Brown in this line of public duty, the Rochester *Democrat and Chronicle* well said at the time of his death: "Columns might be written of D. D. S. Brown as a politician, and numerous reminiscences of his career revived. It were a long story to tell of the conflicts in which he was engaged, of the ease with which he assumed responsibilities, of the dauntlessness with which he faced opposing forces, of the men he aided, of the associations he enjoyed, of his wise and pithy sayings, of his profound contempt for all things in politics which were mean and venal, and withal of his real devotion to the principles he espoused—a devotion which constrained him to renounce his fealty to the Democratic party when it yielded to the extreme demands of the slave oligarchy, and which, as a Republican, induced him to refuse more than one tender of high position, which he could not accept consistently with his sense of duty. Indeed, he was never an office-seeker, and would have scorned any place which involved the slightest sacrifice of his manhood. Without position, and dependent solely upon his own talents, he was a leader and not a servitor in

politics. Had he always been able to utilize victory, as he was competent to organize it, he would have been almost peerless as a party manager. He was not, in the ordinary sense of the term, an orator, and was too often apt to shrink from public utterance; but he had, both in conversation and in speech, the faculty of grasping salient points and of presenting them in an earnest, trenchant and sententious way, with occasional flashes of humor, and sometimes of stinging raillery at injustice, which never failed to command attention and rarely failed to enforce conviction. If his indignation was quick to kindle, his resentments were seldom lasting, and he was as ready to forgive an injury as he was prompt to redress a wrong. He was a great-hearted man, faithful to his friends and loyal to any cause in which he was enlisted.

Mr. Brown was interested in many of the business enterprises of his vicinity, often making his capital and influence felt in measures with which he was not personally connected. But his name was probably more closely identified with the building of the State Line, now the Buffalo, Rochester & Pittsburgh railroad, than with anything else outside his personal pursuits. He was one of the original promoters of this railroad, and gave to it, for years, his best efforts, his means and much of his time. When others faltered, he remained resolute; when others despaired, he hoped; when some of his associates were utterly discouraged, he pointed out the way to overcome obstacles; and, long before his death, this important artery of trade

and traffic had united Western New York and Northern and Western Pennsylvania in indissoluble bonds. He was, until a recent change in management, a director of the road, a member of the executive committee, and was for some years its vice-president. From the day this railroad was projected to its completion to Salamanca, Major Brown's work and influence had an important and most valuable effect, and his zeal and unflagging industry were felt in every stage of the work and in every department. During all the time this railroad was in process of construction he was a railroad commissioner for the town of Wheatland, and discharged the responsible duties of that office with intelligence and fidelity.

He had faith in the development of the western states and territories, had traveled much therein, and fortunate investments in land in Minneapolis materially increased his more than moderate estate. In 1883 President Arthur appointed him a commissioner to examine a portion of the Northern Pacific railroad, and he was present at the memorable driving of the golden spike, afterward continuing his journey westward to Washington Territory and Oregon. He had traveled much and mingled much in the haunts of men; but, better than all else, he loved the country where, for forty years, he had his home, and the serene enjoyments of the domestic circle. The acres he tilled, the hearth-stone he laid, the family he reared—these were at once his inspiration and his consolation amid the controversies of politics and the fret of

affairs. Attached to his home, interested in village life, and glad to be known as a farmer, he passed his happiest hours amid rural surroundings.

While Mr. Brown was absorbed in business and political affairs, he also found time for work that had for its object the good of others, especially in connection with educational and other public institutions. He was appointed by Governor Robinson one of the managers of the Western House of Refuge—afterwards the New York State Industrial School—and was continued in that official relation through the remainder of his life. There, as elsewhere, he was efficient in his official capacity, and endeavored especially to secure certain needed reforms in management and discipline, which were, in the main, fully accomplished. As regent of the Ingham university, he devoted much time in promoting its success and placing it on a firm foundation. Mr. Brown was a generous contributor to and the principal promoter of the building of Grace Episcopal Church of Scottsville, and was baptized and confirmed in its communion. He was married on June 26, 1854, to Mary Ann, daughter of George Ensign of Scottsville, and was especially happy in his home relations. The following children, born to them, survive him: Selden S. Brown, a well-known attorney of Rochester; Mary Lillian, wife of H. L. S. Hall of Scottsville; Le Grand Brown of Scottsville, and Roscoe C. E. Brown.

It was out of a life of usefulness and in the midst of an honorable career that

Mr. Brown was called to his higher home and greater reward, on January 11, 1887. The sad event was not altogether unexpected, yet none the less a shock and sorrow to the community and people who had so honored him, and amid which he had so long and successfully worked. His body was laid away to rest in the O-at-ka cemetery—"a beautiful and well-kept 'God's-acre,' situated on high ground adjoining the historic O-at-ka creek"—on the afternoon of January 15. There was a large assembly of sincere mourners, among whom was a large delegation of eminent lawyers, members of the press, county and city officers, notable citizens and representatives of the various societies and associations of which Mr. Brown was a member. The services were solemn and impressive and showed, indeed, the honor and respect in which the departed citizen and friend was held.

From the very many public expressions by the pulpit, the press and organizations of which Mr. Brown was a part, one may gain a general and more just estimate of his character than can be gleaned in any other way. He was, as has been eloquently said, "an earnest man, whose ambition was to attain the post of highest usefulness, to equip himself for public work through a noble profession which brings its votaries into the arena where men strive with their fellows for eminence in civil life, where rewards are ample only to those who compel success by resolute, arduous endeavor and persistence in the pursuit of good ends upon enlightened pathways." As was declared by the assem-

bled bar of Monroe county: "In few instances has this body assembled to give its testimony to one more worthy of special distinction, for whose death a more genuine sorrow has been elicited. . . . Although not recently intimately associated with us in general legal practice, Mr. Brown has always maintained his early relationship with our courts, either as a counselor or as *amicus curiæ*, and at no time has he forgotten his early love for the noble profession into which it was his best ambition to enter and his highest aim to rise to foremost rank. Like nearly every young American citizen who has risen to distinction, he began life without patrimony; achieved his first successes by earnest, unaided efforts, with a proud self-reliance which never forsook him; nor faltered in the sternest stress of powerful competition. He recognized the importance of enlisting equally sincere men of unwavering faith and indomitable perseverance as aids and helpers in any great work of public beneficence. His clear perception of the real character of men enabled him usually to rightly choose his assistants. We recognize also his self-denial in the pursuit of important enterprises—his recognition of merit and good deserts, his more than willingness to aid others to attain the heights their ambition led them to scale. As an officer in the civil service, his duties brought him into immediate relations with his legal brethren, and he was able, as he was ever desirous, to render them assistance and promote their work. In some suits of much more than ordinary importance

his legal acumen, cultured common sense and unusual knowledge of the laws governing trade and conveyancing, have been sought for by clients or attorneys in behalf of contestants bringing their claims into the courts. In one of the most important suits at law in the courts of a western commonwealth, settled just before his death, his ready resources had been drawn upon by the successful litigant for an estate of princely dimensions."

Mr. Brown was a man of stalwart build and a clear as well as vigorous intellect. He was energetic, resolute and masterful in the prosecution of his purpose. He was unselfish to an extraordinary degree, of positive convictions, firm and lasting in his friendships, forgiving to those who offended him, tolerant in spirit and always according earnestness and honesty of purpose to those who disagreed with him. In his chosen profession he was assiduous, exemplary, conscientious, gained the confidence of courts and clients, and the assurance of success, and had not political life attracted him from this sphere, he would surely have won a conspicuous rank at the bar.

This brief memorial of one of whom much more might profitably and truthfully be said, can be concluded in no better way than to reproduce the farewell words of one who knew him well. "With failing health," says the Scottsville *Union* a few days after his death, "he made his last rally, feeling that his stay was short, and with astonishing power of will and mind, carried out projects that were dear to his heart. He

lived to see the beautiful Grace church built, paid for, and embellished by a pipe organ, the gift of his affection. He saw his only daughter happily united in marriage, amid flowers that perfumed for the last time his parlors on festive occasion, where afterwards she drew aside the curtains to gratify his last request, to take the farewell look at the familiar scenes of his affections, his grounds, the avenue of maples, the homes of his neighbors, the school and the churches, and then saying to her, 'How pleasant it is,' fell quietly into the sleep that knows no waking. He lived to welcome a grandchild to perpetuate the family name; his oldest son adorning his father's profession, and well equipped to take a father's place in the management of the family estate; another grown to stalwart manhood, dutiful and affectionate to the last, and the youngest passing through college honors, coveted by his father in his youth but denied him. He saw the end of a long litigation through which he carried a friend to a princely fortune, and that friend came from the far west to stand by his bedside at the last of earth. He lived to realize from his faith in large business enterprises, which his indomitable will carried through dark days, so that his last days were blessed with prosperity. Like a wise man, he set his house in order for the last event. By baptism and the sacraments he confessed Christ before men, and commended his soul to the mercies of his Maker. His might be called a fortunate career. He was blessed with a vigorous constitution which carried him through his many

conflicts. His varied experiences brought him into contact with men of every station and gave him a knowledge of human nature beyond many. He knew the people and was acquainted with their interests. The farm, the school, the bar, the camp, the press, the secret springs of politics, the halls of legislation, the market, the factory, the city and country, all these he had learned by heart, and was a walking cyclopædia of information and practical experience. His love of country life amounted almost to a passion, and he never enjoyed himself more than when extending the hospitality of his country home to his numerous friends and showing them the beauties of the O-at-ka valley. He was fortunate in his home. A devoted wife and children made it a desired haven after every stormy voyage. As a citizen of Scottsville he did much for its welfare. One of its most beautiful avenues bears his name. The first railroad reached it by his zeal, and was pushed across the state. He was broad in his charities, and every church was aided by his generous hand, and one of them can truly say as of old, 'He loveth our people, and has built us a synagogue.' He was greatly interested in the school, and in the welfare of the boys and girls of Wheatland. By voice and vote he favored temperance and good morals. As a neighbor, he was kind to the poor, his purse was open to their needs, his carriage at the door that death had entered, and amidst all his multiplied cares he had time for all the amenities of life, and delighted in any service he could render in a

time of need. While his ardent temperament made him a good hater and a hard hitter in political life, there was nothing malignant in his nature. His old antagonists lay the tribute of magnanimity on his grave and sincerely lament his death. The Nation, for the Nation felt his influence; the state,

that knew him from the Narrows to Niagara; Monroe county, where his was a household name; Wheatland, proud of him as her son; and Scottsville, that gave him wife, children, home and affection, all mourn his loss and say, 'Know ye not that a Prince in Israel hath fallen this day?'

J. C. EASTON.

Jason C. Easton of La Crosse, Wisconsin, who is so closely identified with the great Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul system, and who has had a large influence in developing the railways of the northwest, was, although yet in the prime of life, one of those enterprising pioneers whose courage and energy created Minnesota, and has opened and developed the lands that lie beyond. Only a third of a century has passed since he moved westward with the tide of emigration, yet what marvelous changes have occurred in so short a space of time; and of all the men who have wrought in this great labor no one of them has performed a larger personal share nor effected greater results with the same means than the far-seeing and energetic man whose record is briefly given herein.

Mr. Easton was born in West Martinsburgh, Lewis county, New York, on May 12, 1823, the son of Giles and Olive Easton. By descent he comes from one of the old New England families, his father, grandfather and great-grandfather being natives of Hartford, Connecticut, where the family settled at an early period in colonial history. His grand-

father, Giles Easton, was an artisan in the Revolutionary army. Young Easton had a decided inclination toward learning and made good use of his early years of school. He was prepared for college in Lowville, in his native county, and entered Yale college in 1847, but ill health compelled him to leave before the completion of his freshman year. Of decided political convictions, and ambitious even then to exert an influence in the world, he purchased, in February, 1848, the *Northern Journal*, then published at Lowville, Lewis county, New York, in support of the Whig party and principles. He was connected therewith as editor and publisher for about five years, although not continuously. The *Journal* was subsequently consolidated with the *Lewis County Republican*, and under the name of the *Journal and Republican* is still published by Honorable H. A. Phillips.

Mr. Easton next tried farming for one year; and, although raised upon a farm, was indifferently successful upon his own account. At this time he had begun to realize the opportunity opening to young men in the great northwest, and in the spring of 1856 made the exchange of lo-



Yours Truly
Kortou

Engraved by J. H. Hill & Son, 11 Barclay St. N.Y.

cation that opened before him a career of unusual usefulness and material success. Locating in Minnesota, he from the first became one of the business and financial forces of that new section. Making his home in Chatfield, Fillmore county, he opened the Root River bank, a private institution, which is still in operation, and has the honor of being the oldest bank in Minnesota—Mr. Easton continuing its proprietor until May, 1888, when he transferred it to Mr. George H. Haven. At the time of his settlement in the territory, the treaty with the Winnebago Indians had only recently been concluded, and the Indian corn-fields and other evidences of Indian occupation along the Root River valley still remained. The territory at this time swarmed with emigrants, and it was not long before the rich quarter section claims had all been filed upon, under the preëmption laws. By this early location, Mr. Easton became connected with the early settlement and development of the young commonwealth, and although for the past five years a resident of Wisconsin, still retains very large property interests in Minnesota. From the first he dealt largely in real estate, and is still the owner of a good many improved farms. More from a love of nature, and a pleasure in seeing visible improvements carried on under his own eye, than from speculative purposes, he became at one time during his residence in Minnesota an extensive owner of cultivated lands, owning something like thirty small improved farms, which he rented, in addition to several that were cultivated under his personal direction. He became, also, the owner of some of

the best stock in Minnesota. Some idea of the manner in which Mr. Easton made this portion of the wilderness blossom as the rose, and of his skill and taste in improvement upon the works of nature, is furnished in the following description of some of his farms, as furnished by a writer, an English gentleman, who contributed, in 1878, the result of his observations to the St. Paul *Pioneer Press*. "To the north of Chatfield," he writes, "stretches a valley about a mile in breadth, shut in by lofty hills, covered with dense forests, the Root river winding along broad meadows at their feet. A drive of half an hour brought us to Maplewood farm, so named from the fact of the sugar-maple growing there extensively. This strikingly beautiful estate, of between six and seven hundred acres in extent, lies on both sides of the valley. The river bottom is a vast meadow of three hundred acres, level as a bowling-green, laid down to tame grasses, through which the Root river winds a very devious course, forming here and there a pretty island. Overlooking this is the homestead, one range of farm buildings, a house which reminded me of an English shooting lodge, huge barns two hundred feet in length, a dairy with all the latest modern conveniences, its milk-troughs able to be flushed at any moment by the ice-cold water of a neighboring spring. From the sheep-folds, sloping gently to the west, you look upon a vast belt of forest, which stretches along this chain of valleys for more than twenty miles, and varying from one or two miles to six in depth. Behind the homestead are hills broken into knolls and hollows, which have the makings of a splendid

sheep-run, when the underbrushing now going on is completed. Above these hills, and approached by a steep, winding road, stands, on a lofty plateau, the arable land of the farm, already turned over by the plough. Here and there on the surrounding hills were patches of open meadow just like the Alps of Switzerland and northern Italy. Some have been brought into cultivation, and fields of ripe, yellow maize stood out in bold relief against the rich autumn tints of the encircling woods. Here I was shown a magnificent flock of sheep, the best I have yet seen in Minnesota, and where some interesting experiments in grading have been tried. It is the fashion in this country to cross almost exclusively with the Cotswold, as best adapted to these northern winters. But in this flock, Lincoln and Leicester bucks have been introduced with great success, and it is intended to make the further experiment with Southdowns, from which my experience of that breed in England leads me to augur very favorable results. The farming land and stock duly inspected and admired, we drove across the river and entered the sombre depths of the forest primeval. I am used to going anywhere on the back of a horse, but to be driven across gullies two or three feet deep, and jolted over huge fallen logs which obstructed the path, in a light top-buggy, is to me rather nervous work. As we drove slowly along the narrow forest road, partridges whirled up under our horses' feet, and snipe and woodcock were seen in abundance. In winter the wild deer come down into the valley from the deep woods above, and on still nights the watchful

shepherd, in his hut of logs, can hear the timber wolves howl and make night hideous with their hungry cry. Time would fail me to describe other farms I visited. On one I saw a very interesting experiment in trout culture going on. The young fish, some five thousand in number, seemed healthy and lively enough in a large, artificial, fresh-water pond. I should think the Root river, which I am told never freezes, except in spots, would be well adapted for trout. In just such streams, and in a climate more inclement in winter, they are found in abundance in many parts of the Austrian Tyrol."

Mr. Easton, in addition to the improved property he has retained, including his two stock-farms, possesses some thousands of acres of wild lands, both in Minnesota and Dakota.

In addition to his other labors, Mr. Easton established, at various times, eleven private banks in southern Minnesota, but has disposed of his interests in that direction, although most of them still continue in successful operation. He became the entire owner of two of them—his original one at Chatfield and a private one at Lanesboro—in addition to an interest in four others, being the firms of Farmer & Easton, Spring Valley; Easton & Armstrong, Winnebago City; Sprague & Easton, Caledonia; and the First National bank of Owatonna, all in Minnesota.

During 1872 and 1873 Mr. Easton was engaged on a large scale in the purchase and shipment of grain and other farm products along the Southern Minnesota railroad. As his operations enlarged and his capital increased he decided to have a

part in some of the great and developing railroad interests of that section, keenly foreseeing the greatness to which they would grow. In 1875 he purchased a controlling interest in the stock of the Southern Minnesota, a line extending from La Crescent, a town in Minnesota on the west bank of the Mississippi river, opposite the city of La Crosse, to Winnebago City, a distance of one hundred and sixty-seven miles. In 1872, on account of default of interest, the road had been placed in the hands of a receiver by order of the United States district court, and, at the time of Mr. Easton's purchase of stock, was still in the hands of the representative of that court. Soon after that purchase Mr. Easton was elected a member of its board of directors.

In 1877 the Southern Minnesota Railway Extension company was organized, of which Mr. Easton was a director and the president. This company was organized for the purpose of extending the Southern Minnesota railroad to the west line of the state, under the provisions of a land grant from congress. All the stock of the extension company was owned by the Southern Minnesota Railroad company. The road was completed in December, 1878, to Flandrau, Dakota, ten miles west of the state line, and three years before the time fixed in the act of the legislature of Minnesota, and the rich grant of lands secured to the company. The road was subsequently built from Flandrau to Sioux Falls, Dakota. The company also acquired, by purchase, a line of road (the Minnesota & Northwestern) from Wells to Mankato, making a total length of road of over four hundred miles.

In May, 1879, Mr. Easton and associates sold a majority of the Southern Minnesota Railroad company stock to the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway company, and soon afterwards the latter company purchased all of the bonds of the Southern Minnesota Railroad company, the receivership was dissolved, and the entire property conveyed by deed to the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway company, and merged into that great system of railway. In June, 1879, Mr. Easton was elected a director of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway company, and is still a member of that board. In 1881 he organized the Chippewa Valley & Superior Railway company, of which he was made the president. He constructed a line of road from Wabasha, Minnesota, including the bridge across the Mississippi river to Eau Claire, Wisconsin, with a branch to Menomonie, in the state last named.

In 1882 Mr. Easton purchased the entire stock, and was made president of the Chicago & Evanston railroad. With characteristic energy he completed this line from the Union depot to the village of Evanston, a distance of twelve miles. The road is double track outside the city, with four main tracks in the city, having also acquired a large amount of valuable terminal property in the city of Chicago, numerous side tracks, a very large freight warehouse at Kinzie street, with equal rights and privileges with other companies in the Union depot. He expended in construction and acquirement of this property about three million dollars.

Mr. Easton is also president of the Dakota & Great Southern railway, with a

line of railway from Madison to Harlem, Dakota, a distance of one hundred and fifty-six miles of completed road. He was also one of the original promoters and a stockholder of the Fargo & Southern railway, a line of completed road from Fargo, Dakota, to Ortonville, Minnesota. All of these railway properties have been acquired, and are now owned by the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway company, and are a part of that great system.

In 1883 Mr. Easton removed from Minnesota to La Crosse, Wisconsin, where, having invested some \$140,000 in a residence and grounds, he now resides practically retired from active business, giving his business affairs only a general oversight, leaving the details to his son,

L. F. Easton, and private secretary, W. E. Lockerby.

As may be learned from the above, Mr. Easton has been too closely engrossed in business affairs to take any part in public life, although ever a close and interested observer of National and state affairs. He cast his first vote for Henry Clay for President in 1844, and was identified with the Whig party until 1856, since which time he has voted with the Republicans. He well deserves, by his honorable methods of business, generosity and high ability, the respect and confidence which he enjoys all through the Northwest, and is recognized as a marked example of what a man can achieve when he industriously sets himself to the performance of the labor of life.

W. H. MORROW.

The late W. H. Morrow, who had a large railway experience for one of his years, and who, at the time of his death, was general manager of the Great Baldwin Locomotive works in Philadelphia, an establishment employing over three thousand men, was born in Sinking Valley, Blair county, Pennsylvania, February 14, 1842, and was the son of George W. Morrow, a farmer. He received a fairly good general education in the common schools, and afterwards attended and graduated from Duff's Business college in Pittsburgh. His first insight of the world of business in which he was destined to play no mean part was obtained while acting as a clerk in a country store, but he soon became assistant ticket agent at

Newport, Perry county, and began the career in which his life's success was achieved. From Newport he went to Corry, Pennsylvania, and from there to Altoona, where a much larger scope was afforded for his capabilities, and opportunities given him for developing that fine executive ability which in subsequent years made him an invaluable man at the Baldwin works. He served there under Superintendent Ricker, who, being made superintendent of the New Jersey Central railroad, removed to Elizabeth, New Jersey, in December, 1867, and took Mr. Morrow with him as his clerk and general assistant.

In the meantime, upon October 16, 1867, he was united in marriage with Miss



W. H. Morrow

Bella Clemson, daughter of Captain A. C. Clemson of Newport, Pennsylvania, probably the oldest packet captain living in the Keystone state, and one of the best known and most prominent citizens of Perry county. The marriage proved a peculiarly happy one, and for a period of twenty years Mr. Morrow's life was blessed and enriched by the most perfect of domestic conditions.

Our subject remained in the employ of the New Jersey Central railway, residing at Elizabeth until June, 1871, when he went to Newport, Pennsylvania, and it was while enjoying a season of rest there that he was called to a position with the Baldwin Locomotive works. This was brought about through the influence and at the suggestion of Mr. John H. Converse of the firm, who, finding that an emergency placed the establishment in need of a chief time-keeper, and knowing that Mr. Morrow's experience at Altoona and elsewhere had admirably fitted him for such a position, prevailed upon him to accept it. He came to the works in August and proved himself in efficiency all that his friend had anticipated. It was not intended, when his services were secured, that he should long remain in the station to which he was originally assigned, as he was known to possess abilities fitting him for a higher one. Accordingly when an opportunity was afforded he was made chief clerk of the drawing room, and he remained practically in charge of that department until he received another advancement, being placed in charge of what is known as the extra work department, in which all of the making of parts of locomotives is carried on and all re-

pairing done—a department as large in itself as many quite notable industrial establishments. The force which he exerted in this position, and the ability and knowledge of methods which he displayed, won for him the place of superintendent. It follows legitimately and almost inevitably that when a worker proves himself wholly adequate to discharge the duties of an office he may be invested with, he is as soon as possible raised to a higher one and given larger and more responsible labors. And so we find that the patient, efficient, industrious Mr. Morrow, who entered the Baldwin works in a comparatively humble capacity in 1871, after receiving various promotions was, in 1886, admitted to a partnership in the vast business and made general manager of the works which, as has already been said, employs over three thousand men.

Mr. Morrow was noted for his aptitude in bringing about system and carrying on work by method, and in this and in his organizing ability lay at once his most marked characteristics and the chief secret of his success. His industry too was remarkable. He was close in application and, it seemed, absolutely indefatigable. He was the first at the offices in the morning and the last to leave at night. He possessed a great and rare advantage in an even temper—one which, no matter what perplexities arose, or how great the provocation, was always serene and unruffled. His administration of affairs was prompt, rapid, decisive and thoroughly effectual, but it was carried on without apparent friction. Although he had never received an education in mechanics, either of the

theoretical or practical kind, he had a mind which grasped the broad generalities of the shop work, and he learned much of tools and machinery, as well as of men and he knew the best means of accomplishing any desired result. This made him a remarkably effective man and one of the most prized ever connected with the works. Mr. Morrow's whole life and thought and activity were given to his business, save only that he was devoted to his family. In his work and in his happy domestic life he found his sole joy, and it was sufficient. He cared little or nothing for public affairs—except in that sense in which any intelligent and good citizen must take an interest in them—and he cared nothing whatever for society in the common acceptance of the term. He was essentially one of that vast number of the world's wise, faithful and useful workers and a quiet, unselfish, unobtrusive gentleman.

His life closed early—just as he had completed his forty-sixth year. He had been for several years troubled with an affection of the throat, which was troublesome, inasmuch as it made him almost unable to converse; he could speak only in a hoarse whisper oftentimes; but it was not thought that there was anything

dangerous in his ailment. In the summer of 1887 he was prevailed upon to make a sojourn in the Adirondacks in the hope of obtaining relief, but he returned to Philadelphia without having secured any appreciable benefit, and in the following winter became somewhat worse. Still he was not thought to have anything like a fatal disease; but the throat affection proved to be of pulmonary nature, and his death ensued upon Sunday, February 19, 1888, when he had been absent from the office but a fortnight, and having last appeared there apparently as well as at any time within a year. His death was a terrible shock to his family and a saddening surprise to a large circle of business associates and friends.

Funeral services were held at the residence in Philadelphia, and over two thousand of the men employed at the Baldwin Locomotive works called to take a last look at the face they had all loved in life. Resolutions of eulogistic nature and expressing sympathy for his family were adopted by the Baldwin Mutual Relief Fund association. The burial took place at Newport, Pennsylvania. Mr. Morrow left a widow and three children—two sons and a daughter.

CHARLES E. SMITH.

Charles E. Smith, the son of Charles E. Smith and Mary Ogden, was born in Philadelphia, November 1, 1820. He was educated strictly in accordance with the tenets of the Society of Friends. He was a pupil at West Town school three years. At the age of eighteen he entered an en-

gineer corps engaged in the location and construction of a railroad from the coal mines at Blossburg, Tioga county, Pennsylvania, to the Chemung canal at Corning, New York, now the Tioga railroad. On its completion he was made superintendent of it, and, later, also of the mines. The



Memorial of Western History

Charles E. Smith

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scheme was premature, being based on the assumed ability to supply fuel to the salt works at Syracuse, New York, cheaper than the wood then used. The Rome swamp at that time was covered with timber from which wood could be delivered at Syracuse at prices that were ruinous to the coal company. The other markets chiefly relied on were Albany and Troy, where English coal was met at rates too low for Blossburg coal.

The last year of the competition was very severe. The immediate pressing question at the mines was to keep the miners and laborers alive through the coming winter, when the canal would be closed. They were called together and the situation explained to them. They were told that whatever food could be got would be divided equally to all, share and share alike. A census was taken, thus :

Name ?

Married or single ?

How many in family ?

How many under eleven years old ?

To each unmarried man having no old people dependent on him, a pick, a shovel, a drill and a sledge were loaned. He was told to go and look for work during the winter among the farmers, quarrying stone, digging wells, cellars, or anything else, and to return to his old place in the spring. The married men, their families and the old people remained. Two children under eleven years old were rated as one grown person on the list for rations. Small notes from six and a quarter cents to three dollars were issued, payable in coal on demand. With these food was bought from the farmers throughout the county. The farmers paid their blacksmith's bills with

the notes. The blacksmiths got their year's supply of coal when the sleighing was good, paying for it with the notes got from the farmers.

When the supply of flour began to fail, the eating of hot bread was prohibited, and the prohibition enforced, hot bread being less economical than cold. Before spring the bread and butter both gave out. Roasted potatoes and fried salt pork were used as substitutes. All food received was divided equally, according to the ration list, the superintendent taking his ration with the rest, and living on it.

Late one night he was sitting in his office writing, when he was startled by a loud explosion. He went out to ascertain the cause. The stage had arrived with the news of the passage of the tariff of 1842. The miners were celebrating the event by firing a salute. They got a large anvil from the blacksmith's shop, placed it in front of the office, drove a strong, wooden plug into one end of the hole in the anvil, filled the hole nearly full of gunpowder ; into the other end they drove another plug, with a groove along it for the slow match, and touched it off—an improvised cannon. It served to express their joy in the passage of the bill and the prospect of getting enough to eat.

In 1844 he returned to Philadelphia, and in 1846 built the Fairmount rolling-mill. The repeal of the tariff in 1846 made the business unprofitable. He sold his interest to his partners and became manager of the Rensselaer iron works at Troy, New York, the first in the state to make railroad iron.

In December, 1849, a convention of

the iron manufacturers of Pennsylvania was held in Philadelphia to organize for an effort to repeat the tariff of 1846. It was found that they had no accurate knowledge of each other, even by name. This must be had as a necessary preliminary to an organization for the common defence. For this purpose Mr. Smith, in the winter of 1849-50, went all over the state, traveling on foot, on horseback or in wagon, there being no railroad at that time in the Susquehanna valley north of Harrisburg, or in the state west of Lewistown on the Juniata, sixty-five miles west of Harrisburg. The day before he started, he called on Stephen Colwell, chairman of the meeting, for the funds for the journey. Mr. Colwell asked him if he had no money. He replied, "I have about ten dollars." Mr. Colwell said, "That is enough to start on. Beg your

way as you go." He returned in the spring, all expenses paid and about three hundred dollars in pocket. Some of the manufacturers laughed at the whole thing, and refused to pay a penny. One gave an uncurrent German coin, which was sold for fifty-six cents, given because he could not pass it. The largest contribution was twenty dollars. His report was presented to congress and printed. This was the origin of the American Iron association, which continued until 1864, when the name was changed to its present title, the American Iron and Steel association.

In 1861 he was chosen president of the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad company, which position he held throughout the war, and resigned in 1869.

He was president of the Union League of Philadelphia during 1877 and 1878.

JOHN MAGEE.

The granite and bronze monument that stands conspicuous in a chosen plat in the thriving town of Wellsboro, Pennsylvania, speaks eloquently not only of the love and esteem that caused its erection but, in language far deeper, of the life and qualities of the man whose memory it is intended to preserve. Such expressions of popular feeling are not surface indications; they tell of a steady faith in the greatness of the one whose name is engraven upon them, and of a desire that those who read should make themselves and the world better by an emulation of the deeds performed in the life thus recorded. It is

no common man of whom this inscription can be engraved:

1794.

In Honor of
John Magee,
The Tribute of His Friends.
1886.

1868.

The story of a useful and honored life may be told in these words:

His energy and diligence compelled success.
His ability and integrity won public confidence.
His kindness and liberality drew to him the affectionate regard of rich and poor.

Permitte divis cetera.

Founder of the Fall Brook Coal Company.

Projector of the Corning, Cowanesque & Antrim Railway.



Engraved by Samuel Sartain, Phil^a

John W. Magee

The life of John Magee was one of labor and endeavor. He had no lack of personal experiences in his boyhood and youth, and the physical exertions and hardships that befell him were blessings in disguise, nurturing in him a strong constitution and a self-reliance that were features of all his after-life. He was born near Easton, Pennsylvania, on September 3, 1794, and when he was eleven years of age his parents removed to Groveland, Livingston county, New York, from whence they again removed, in 1808, to the territory of Michigan, and settled near Detroit. The disturbed state of the country immediately preceding the breaking out of the War of 1812, added to the difficulties and privations incident to a residence in a new country sparsely settled, especially as they were located upon the frontier, and were thus exposed to many perils. In the month of May, 1812, the father and two sons, John and Hugh, enlisted at Detroit in the rifle company of Captain A. de Quindra. Their command went into active service immediately; had several skirmishes with the Indians; took part in the battle of Brownstown that was fought on August 8; was surrendered with Hull's army at Detroit. John Magee remained a prisoner on parole until January, 1813, when he was sent with the captured troops to St. Catherines, and thence across the country to Fort George. In the March following, obtaining his release, he joined Major Cyrenius Chapin's command of mounted rangers; was again taken prisoner at the battle of Beaver Dams, near St. Catherines; made his escape by a wonderful exhibition of personal courage, and was soon after ap-

pointed as a messenger to carry dispatches for the government between Fort Niagara and Washington, and to points along the frontier. This duty, attended as it was by many perils and hardships, was discharged with a degree of skill and endurance rarely equaled. On one occasion, when dispatches of great importance were forwarded by him to the department of war at Washington, he continued in the saddle for forty-eight hours, procuring fresh horses from time to time, until he reached Northumberland, Pennsylvania, when, becoming completely exhausted, he secured a reliable person to proceed to Washington with the papers. When the requisite answers were brought him, he conveyed them to General Wilkinson, then in command, and, upon arriving at headquarters, the general refused to believe that the dispatches could possibly have reached Washington and the answers returned in the short time that had elapsed, until he had received and read the answers to his communications. As a reward for this labor, he took five hundred dollars from his military chest and presented them to the young man, none of which were retained by him, as every dollar was given to poor widows with children, whose husbands had been killed by the Indians. Leaving the service of the government in 1816, he proceeded to Bath, Steuben county, New York, which was chosen for his home.

Upon his return to civil life, young Magee allowed no time to pass in idleness, but turned his hand to the first employment that offered, which was the cutting of cord-wood. In this labor and in farming, with such efforts as were possible

to make up for the educational lack which the pioneer life of his boyhood had entailed, some season of his developing youth was passed. His personal qualities were soon discovered by his neighbors, and he was pressed into a public service which, though humble, was an important one in the rude section in which he was located. In the spring of 1818 he was elected to the office of constable and collector of the town of Bath, and in 1819 was appointed a deputy sheriff of Steuben county, which office he held until 1820, when he was made marshal for the same county and set to taking its census. His work was so well performed that, upon the completion of his report, he received the public thanks of the authorities for the remarkable faithfulness and accuracy of his returns, accompanied by the present of a handsome set of silverware. In the year 1821, the office of high sheriff becoming vacant, he was appointed thereto; and in 1822, when a change in the state constitution took place, the office of high sheriff, which had previously been conferred by a council of appointment, became elective, and he was then chosen by the people to that office, and served until 1826.

The high point of public confidence into which he had grown was shown in the year last named, when he was brought forward as a candidate for congress and elected; and upon the completion of his first term, was sent back for a second. During both these terms he took a prominent position in the councils of the Nation. General Jackson, who at the time occupied the Presidential chair, regarded him as a man of extraordinary sagacity and sound-

ness of judgment, and made him one of his confidential friends and advisers. He often consulted him upon important questions, and offered him a seat in his cabinet, which Mr. Magee declined.

In 1831 the Steuben County Bank of Bath was established, and Mr. Magee became its first president—a position which he held for the remainder of his life, a period of thirty-seven years. He became, from the first, emphatically a public spirited citizen; and during the twenty years from 1831 to 1851, prior to the time when he became more directly interested in enterprises in Tioga county, he was actively engaged, in connection with the banking business at his home in Bath, in many public enterprises of the day in that section of the country. Not content with doing the merely perfunctory work of bank officer, and loaning the funds of the corporation with which he was connected and in which he was largely interested, he believed that its capital should be used in aid of worthy individual enterprises, and in the development of the industries of the country, and acted upon that belief, and so directed its use. At the same time he individually engaged in many enterprises beneficial to the locality and the whole country, among them the opening of post-roads and a more speedy transmission of the mails.

As early as 1835 the building of the New York & Erie railroad to Lake Erie was proposed, and it was in connection with that great line that Mr. Magee's first railroad connection was formed, as he was instrumental in the building of a large part of that road, and also of the Conhocton Valley railroad,

from Corning to Buffalo. His work in connection therewith forms an interesting chapter in the history of early Erie, and, as it has been fully related by one knowing to all the facts,* we take the liberty of quoting quite fully here: "In 1840 Mr. Magee and his partner, Judge Cook, prompted by a desire to see substantial progress made in the construction of the western division of the road, became contractors for the work on that division. Early in the spring of 1842 the three millions loaned by the state to the road became exhausted and the company failed, owing a large amount to them and its other contractors, who, having received for their work about one-third in stock, we were not only the largest creditors but the largest stockholders, and upon two or three of the heaviest contractors devolved a large share of the duty of resuscitating the company. It was at this trying period in the history of the road that the powers of Mr. Magee's mind most attracted my attention. I found him fully equal to the occasion. The company made an assignment at once, but lest there might be some slip in the proceedings and the property of the company fall into the hands of hostile creditors, a friendly judgment was given to Mr. Magee and his partner, with which they protected the property on the western division not covered by the state mortgage. A like judgment was given to my partner and myself, and we protected the property on the eastern division. Two years after, these judgments were satisfied, we, to-

gether with other creditors, receiving in payment certificates of indebtedness of the company payable in five years. The winter of 1843 found Mr. Magee active in obtaining the removal of the state lien of three millions upon the road, spending much of his time at Albany urging upon the legislature the necessity of the measure. His legislative experience, extensive acquaintance with public men and his force of character made him, in the estimation of the friends of the road, an indispensable advocate of the bill. Its passage at the close of the session improved greatly the prospects of the road, but much yet remained to be done. Confidence in the road had to be revived, which was not an easy task in those early days of railroads. Meetings of the stockholders and friends of the road were held along the line during the summer, in which Mr. Magee always took a prominent part. A change in the direction this year was an important event; it was brought about by the late James G. King, who influenced prominent men to come into the direction, and, by the determination of Mr. Magee and myself—we controlling, at the time, the necessary amount of stock to make the election sure—this direction, save a dash made at it the next fall, held possession until the road was opened to Dunkirk, in 1851. Just previous to the opening of the road to Binghamton, in 1847, the company again found its means exhausted, and to maintain its credit, keep up the hopes of its friends and reach the promising business of the rich valleys of the Chemung and its tributaries, some new scheme was necessary, all the devices thus known for

* From a letter written by Honorable J. S. T. Stranahan of Brooklyn, New York, under date of February 18, 1869.

carrying on such a work having been used to their utmost limit. New subscriptions to the stock could not be obtained, new indebtedness could not be incurred, because the laws of the state forbade railroad corporations creating a debt beyond the amount of the capital stock actually paid in, and that point had been reached. At this juncture Mr. Magee was very appropriately called upon by the company to lend a helping hand, and responded, together with those who became associated with him as contractors, by suggesting what seemed to be not only the best but well-nigh the only solution of the difficult problem. After a good deal of deliberation it was finally determined to extend the road from Binghamton to Corning, a distance of seventy-eight miles, on the strength of a novel security, viz., by the issue of 'income bonds,' the company pledging nothing more than the net income of the business on so much of the road as should be constructed by their use, in payment for materials furnished and work done. This plan contemplated a strong firm of contractors to execute the work, as it was known that the bonds would not sell on the market, and that the company, in its feeble condition, could not borrow money upon them; in a word, the projectors of the scheme expected to be held responsible for its execution by taking a contract for building the seventy-eight miles of road. During the year, but after we had graded the road to Owego and received in payment some three hundred thousand dollars of these bonds, the legislature passed a general railroad law which repealed the embarrassing provisions of

previous acts forbidding the contraction of debts beyond the amount of capital stock paid in. This opening was at once seized upon by both directors and contractors, and, by agreement, the income bonds we had received up to that date were surrendered and a second mortgage, to secure \$3,000,000 of bonds, was put upon the entire road, a little less than one-half being pledged for the payment of our work and the balance, or \$1,700,000, appropriated to pay off the floating debt of the company and to extend the road from Corning to Hornellsville. We opened the road to Elmira in 1848 and completed our contract and the road to Corning in 1849, and I think that I may add, with entire safety, that all the benefits promised on the part of the contractors, and all the expectations cherished on the part of the company in regard to this extension of the road, were fully realized. To appreciate the earnest thought, the forecast and heroic fortitude evinced by Mr. Magee in the prominent part he took in the construction of the New York & Erie railroad, you will have to remember how few were the experiences and how feeble were the lights to guide the public-spirited and enterprising men at that early period in the history of railroad undertakings."

Another railroad enterprise, in which he was interested in these early days, is so interesting as illustrating the methods of the day and the character of the man that space must be taken for its description. The story may be found in a statement made by Judge David Rumsey, anterior to Mr. Magee's death, as follows: "Before the location of the New York & Erie railroad was finally settled upon through the county

of Steuben, Francis Wilson Paul, esq., of Canandaigua, with other parties, were desirous of procuring the construction of a railroad from Canandaigua, which should connect with the New York & Erie at some point in Steuben county. Mr. Paul visited this county, and made strenuous efforts to procure subscriptions of stock and the right of way through the county to Painted Post. Mr. Magee then stood high in the opinion of the directors of the New York & Erie company, and expressed the opinion strongly that by proper effort the line of the New York & Erie road could be located up the Valley of the Conhocton; and relying upon his judgment in that respect, the citizens on the line of the proposed road from Canandaigua declined to favor the construction of that road, and the enterprise over the route through Steuben county was abandoned. Mr. Paul and his friends turned their attention to another route on their road and the result was the construction of the railroad from Elmira to Canandaigua. The efforts of Mr. Magee and his friends proved ineffectual to secure the location of the Erie railroad up the Conhocton valley, and the inhabitants of that valley were in a fair way of being left entirely without railroad facilities. As this result was in some considerable degree brought about by the confidence which had been placed in the judgment of Mr. Magee, he was unwilling to leave his neighbors in that condition, and he set himself to work to remedy the evil.

"He was well known to be a man of great energy, fertile in resources, of large means, and had also largely the confidence of men of wealth and business capacity.

After a full examination of the whole matter he decided to procure the organization of a company for the construction of a railroad from Painted Post, in the county of Steuben, to Buffalo, in the county of Erie, and in June, 1850, the necessary articles for the incorporation of the Buffalo & Conhocton Valley Railroad company were drawn, and vigorous measures prosecuted for obtaining subscriptions to the capital stock, which was fixed at \$1,400,000. The construction of the work was at once entered upon, and it was prosecuted with all the speed and energy necessary for its early completion, and for a time the prospect was that it would prove successful as a pecuniary operation, as well as add materially to the wealth of the country through which it passed, by furnishing an easy and speedy means of transport of agricultural and other productions to a market. The inhabitants along the line of the road for a time subscribed freely to the stock, but the construction for a considerable portion of the way was over an uneven country, requiring a larger expenditure than was originally contemplated, and the stockholders finally became wearied with making advances, and the company was at last compelled to resort to the unsafe expedient of raising money by mortgage of its road, to prosecute the work. The road, then uncompleted, was mortgaged for \$1,000,000 to secure bonds of the company to that amount, which were sold at a discount averaging about eighteen per cent.; and the funds thus raised were expended in the further prosecution of the work, but were insufficient to complete it. Frequent meetings of the stockholders

and others interested in completing the road were held at various points on the line, with a view of inducing such persons to contribute further aid to the work, in the hope that it might be completed, well stocked and placed in good running order. Mr. Magee attended these meetings, and urged at all times that the money should be raised by the friends of the road, to complete it; insisting that if it was so done, and the road finished without compelling the company to raise money at a sacrifice, that the investment would prove a remunerative one, as well as decidedly beneficial to the general interests of the country. The result was that the more sanguine friends of the work contributed of their means; but there was no such full and prompt response to these calls as was necessary to insure success. I recollect that at one of the last of these meetings Mr. Magee was present and addressed it. He insisted that if the money could be raised on the line of the road, to complete it, without compelling the company to resort to means for raising it which would involve a sacrifice, that it would ultimately repay its cost; but if more money was to be raised by mortgage for that purpose, at the usual rates at which railroad bonds were then sold, although the road could be completed in that way, still it would be at a ruinous sacrifice and the road would be ultimately sold to pay the mortgages, and the stockholders would lose what they had already invested. He then stated the amount he held of the stock—some \$60,000—and said that if the company was compelled to resort to a further mortgage to complete the road, it never should be said that he made anything out of it; and

if it should be sold on the mortgages, he would not be a party to the purchase of it—he would share the fate of the other stockholders, and lose what he had invested in it. These appeals to raise money were ineffectual; a further mortgage was resorted to; the bonds were sold at a large discount, and the road was completed, stocked and put in good running order. At the time this was accomplished the road was so largely encumbered as to preclude almost the possibility of running it successfully, and the result was that the interest on the mortgages was unpaid. Proceedings were commenced for their foreclosure in December, 1855; the road passed into the hands of a receiver, and was finally sold on the mortgage in 1857, and purchased in for the benefit of the bondholders. True to his declarations, Mr. Magee declined to have anything to do with the purchase of the road at such sale, and has never since had anything to do with it."

In 1851 Mr. Magee became interested in the Blossburg & Corning railroad, which was chiefly indebted to his energetic coöperation for its completion. At that period the coal business had assumed but little importance in the Tioga valley. Mr. Magee made his first purchase of coal lands in 1859, and opened the mines at Fall Brook in the same year. Entering upon this new field with his usual resolution and sagacity, overcoming obstacles which, to other minds, might have appeared insurmountable, he soon found this work growing so rapidly upon his hands as to demand his constant attention, and his later years were chiefly devoted to its prosecution. The village of Fall Brook,

laid out under his direction, contained, at the time of his death, two hundred and forty dwelling-houses, which, together with store-houses, hotels, offices, shops, mill and other buildings, made an aggregate of two hundred and fifty buildings and embraced a population of two thousand five hundred.

As has been above stated, Mr. Magee, in 1851, became interested in the line then known as the Corning & Blossburg railroad. His son, Duncan S. Magee, engaged with him about that time in the business of manufacturing lumber in Tioga county, and also the mining of coal from the old mines at Blossburg, and in shipping the same to Corning for market upon the canal. The prospect of an increasing market for coal led to explorations for more coal in the mountains, and to the purchase of the coal lands at Fall Brook, above mentioned, and to the organization of the Fall Brook Coal company in the fall of 1859, all of which was brought about by Mr. Magee through the very efficient aid and coöperation of his son, Duncan S. Magee, who was the first superintendent and executive officer of the company.

The railroad interest and the coal enterprise were mutually dependent upon each other. The railroad needed the tonnage to support it, and it was necessary that there should be reliable routes for transportation of the coal to market. Hence these two interests were developed and fostered as essential parts of a single enterprise. Thus Mr. Magee's railroad interest and coal enterprise were from the first operated in harmony, the Fall Brook Coal company being the operator of the

railroad under a formal contract of lease. This unification of interests, established and carried on by Mr. Magee in his lifetime, has been continued to the present time in accordance with the terms of his will, in which he provided for the joint management of his railroad and coal properties, and, as expressed in that document, "to the end that the business and interests of both the said corporations shall be practically consolidated and managed with reference to the mutual interest and benefit of each, as they are now under my general management and direction." His purpose was to so combine those two interests that each should aid in the development of the other, and that both should unitedly expand and grow, so as to realize the prophetic conception which he sometimes modestly expressed, of their future growth, and of the capabilities of development, through the means which he had inaugurated, of the resources of Tioga county.*

* How well that dream was realized may be learned from the following general figures, which can not but be of interest in this connection: Up to and including the month of June, 1888, the Fall Brook Coal company had mined at Fall Brook and Antrim, 6,753,822 tons of coal. The whole number of men employed at the date mentioned, in mining coal and business connected therewith, at the two mines, was 1,029. The population of Fall Brook and Antrim, 2,950, occupying 502 tenements. The houses and buildings were all built and owned by the company; at the two mines, seven churches, all occupied as places of worship; while free schools are maintained at the expense of the company, at which 690 pupils were in attendance. To the above should be added fully one-half more in number of employees and inhabitants at the Morris Run mines, on account of the interest of those mines held by the Fall Brook Coal company. In the railroad department of the company, there were employed in June, 1887, as follows: Train men and workmen in shops, 646;

In 1864 Mr. Magee removed from Bath to Watkins, New York, which remained his home during the balance of his life. This he did under a conviction that due attention to his rapidly extending mining interests, as well as other considerations, demanded it. Upon his location in Watkins, he made extensive purchases of village property, at the head of Seneca lake, for the location of trestle-works, basins, etc., for the delivery and shipment of coal; for the purpose of boat-building; for a steam flouring mill; for dwellings for his workmen; for his own residence, and for other purposes. The business interests of the village received a visible impulse from the commencement of these operations and these interests, Mr. Magee always manifesting a cordial desire to promote in a substantial manner. He was a liberal contributor for the erection of county buildings; for the purchase and improvement of the cemetery grounds, and for the improvement of streets and highways. He

men employed on tracks and in offices, 778; a total of 1,428. Estimating this number of men employed in the railroad department as representing a population of say four thousand persons, and adding the mining population above mentioned, we have a total of about 8,500 persons, whose support is earned through employment furnished directly by and through the Fall Brook Coal company. The number of miles of railroad operated and used by the company is as follows: Main line, Williamsport to Lyons, 205 miles; and the Cowanesque, Fall Brook and Penn Yann branches, 45 miles; total 250 miles. Number of locomotives, 57; number of cars of all kinds, 2,543. These statements are made to show some of the results of the work done by John Magee. The history of the Fall Brook Coal company is his history. As to the latter part of his life, and when it shall have accomplished its work, men will say it was John Magee who conceived and planned it all, though other hands carried it to completion after he was gone.

manifested a friendly interest in the religious welfare of the community; gave the handsome sum of fifty thousand dollars for the erection of a church building for the First Presbyterian Church Society of Watkins, of which he was a member; and had repeatedly expressed his intention to set aside a suitable sum of money during his life-time for the promotion of religion at large. He had also indicated a purpose to promote education, either by founding an institution of learning, or by the endowment of a department of science in some existing college or seminary; and he was contemplating such an endowment in Hamilton college, when he was laid aside from all active duties by the attack of disease which terminated his life.

In 1867 Mr. Magee was chosen a delegate to the Constitutional convention of the state of New York, and his last public services were rendered as a member of that body, although the state of his health at times prevented his attendance upon its session. His characteristic regard for public economy and for a wise and honest administration of the affairs of the state was exhibited in the part he took in its deliberations. During the last three years of his life, Mr. Magee was afflicted by repeated attacks of illness, of such a nature as to deprive him of rest to a great extent, and injuriously affecting his nervous system, already overtaxed by the increasing cares of business. His last illness was a painful one, but he bore his sufferings with an exemplary measure of patience and resignation. The end came on April 5, 1868. His last hours were tranquil, and his release from the body was, apparently, without pain. The intel-

ligence of the sad event was rapidly communicated to different parts of the country, and was extensively noticed by the press. Many letters of condolence were received by his family, from friends at a distance, containing the strongest expressions of respect and sympathy. The mortal remains of the beloved father and friend were followed to their last resting-place by a large concourse of sorrowing people, and were laid away in the beautiful Glenwood cemetery of Watkins, where a massive monument of marble marks the place of burial.

The admiration and respect for the memory of John Magee, held by the large army of men in his employ, was emphatically shown by a movement which was conceived and carried forward to successful completion soon after his death. The project of building a monument to his memory, set up in the midst of a region his labors had so greatly benefited, found its origin with the employés of the Fall Brook Coal company, in the county of Tioga. The plan as at first proposed by them was to limit subscriptions to employés of the enterprises founded by him, to use the conglomerate which abounds upon the lands of the coal company, and to erect the monument on the public square in Wellsboro. But when the friends of John Magee of Wellsboro, who were not of his employés, heard of this movement, they at once asked that they might be permitted to contribute towards the expense, and aid in any other practical way to make the project successful. After consultation, the employés permitted this, and the monument, when completed, became in a sense an expres-

sion of the love and respect of the entire section in which so many of his useful labors had been performed. The result was the erection, in Wellsboro, Pennsylvania, of a massive monument, the pedestal of dark Quincy granite, with four bronze tablets surrounding the die, surmounted by a bronze bust, four feet in height, and bearing upon it such inscriptions as fittingly showed forth the labors and character of the man.

The ceremonies of unveiling and dedication occurred on December 1, 1886, in the midst of an immense concourse of people; many words were heard in honor of the man whose memory was thus perpetuated. And in summing up the life-work and character of John Magee, no greater light can be shown in a few words than to quote from the language of one who took part in the solemn dedication services of that day: "I have intended no eulogy, in the common acceptance of that term. A simple narrative is his best eulogy. Nor do I attempt a description of his personality. That is shown best by his deeds. But I cannot refrain from quoting from the estimate of him of a few men, now passed away, who were his cotemporaries. Of him Horatio Seymour said: 'To me he was an attractive man. He was a strong man upon those points where I feel my own weakness, and it always gave me pleasure to talk with him. Beyond anyone whom I have known, he was quick in his perceptions of character, keen in seeing through the facts of matters with which he had to deal, and prompt in his action. While he was firm and resolute in his purposes, firm in demanding his rights and making others

do their duties, he had what is rare with his cast of character—great charity for the weaknesses of others, and a kindly generosity in helping those who made mistakes or fell into trouble from want of wisdom or skill. I never knew another man whose sharp questionings, stern probings and close scrutinies ended in such liberal and generous conclusions. My acquaintance with men has been large; I have seen and known more or less of the leading men of our country during the last thirty years. Not one of them made a more marked or deeper impression upon me than John Magee. I freely sought his counsel with regard to public and private affairs, and his judgment never failed to be right.

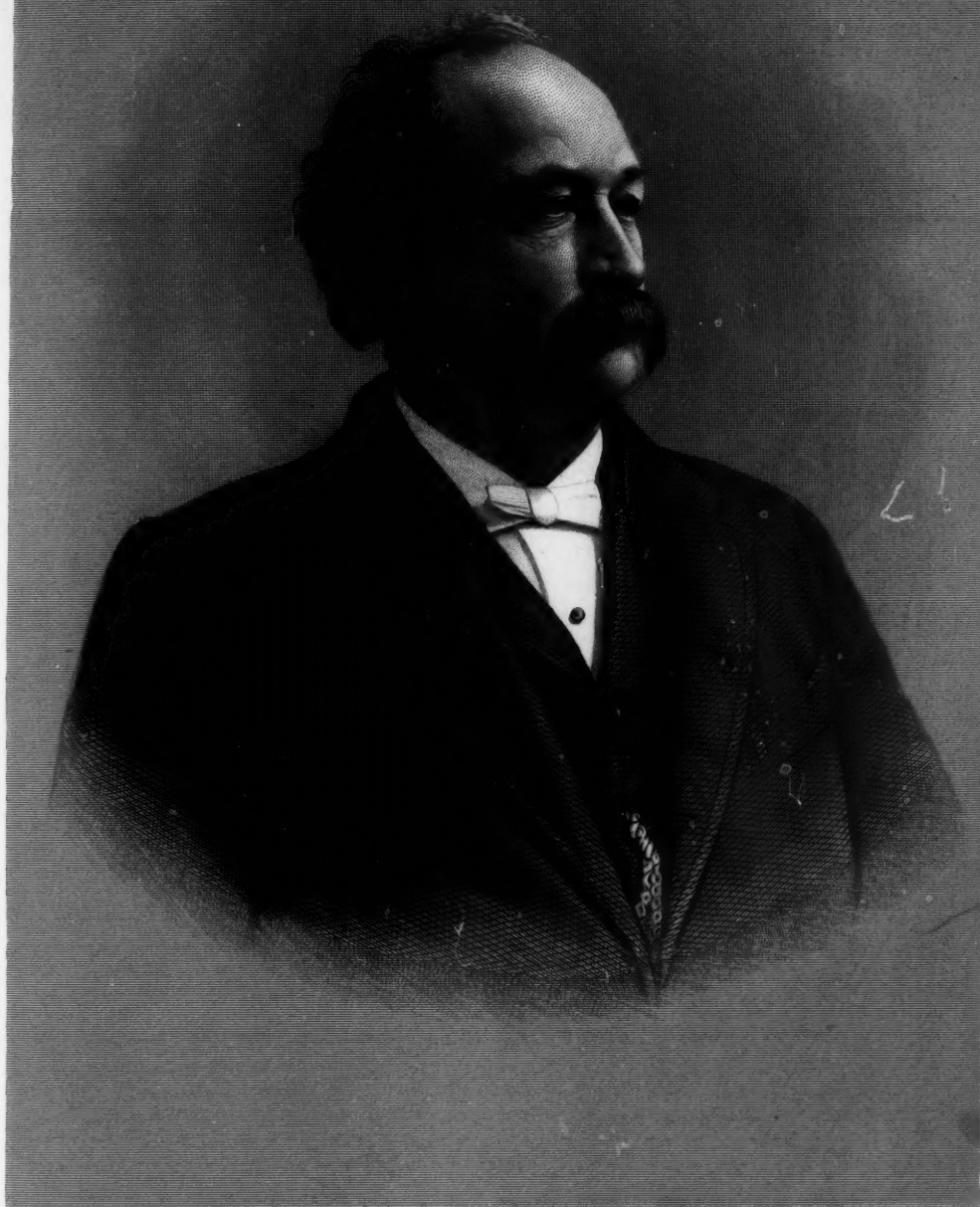
Samuel J. Tilden, on hearing of the death of John Magee, wrote as follows: "I could not but feel the shock, as another link is broken out of the chain which unites the circle, who, in the Roman phrase, "think together concerning our country," especially a link so important and valued, and so associated in our minds with the great days of the Republic, and so remarkable for natural greatness of character." That eminent lawyer, John K. Porter, said: "He was one of those sterling and able men whose names we are accustomed to associate with the stability and prosperity of the state, and whose weight of character far transcends the dignity of their official position."

HORATIO G. BROOKS.

When the late Horatio G. Brooks of Dunkirk, New York, was suddenly called, in the spring days of 1887, out of a sphere of intense activity and ever increasing usefulness, even those who had watched his career the most closely were astonished at the magnificent results he had achieved within a short space of time. Between 1869 and 1887 he had created, almost out of nothing, one of the greatest industrial establishments of the land; had made for himself a name as mechanic and manufacturer that was held in the highest esteem in every section of the country; had seen the products of his genius traveling by hundreds upon the iron tracks of almost every state; had won success against great odds, and had, at the same time, gained a name for goodness and personal merit that anyone

might emulate. As head of the great Brooks Locomotive works, he was able to make his genius and benevolence felt through a thousand channels, and when his mortal frame was carried to its last resting place, it was followed by a long train of mourning friends, among whom the rich and poor mourned together in the common brotherhood of a common, personal loss. In the career of such a man there is a deeper lesson than that of mere personal achievement rewarded by the fruits of worldly success.

Mr. Brooks was of New England descent, springing from a sturdy stock and inheriting from his father an inflexible integrity, individuality and unswerving fidelity to honor; while from his mother he gained that strength of will, of perception and character that appeared again and again



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Truly Yours
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in his varied labors and successes of life. He was born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on October 30, 1828; and when he was but ten years of age his parents removed to Dover, of the same state, then a busy and thriving mill town on the Cocheco river. It was an era of railroad construction, and essentially one of railroad comment and wonder, and naturally the mechanical genius with which the boy was endowed caught fire when he heard of the marvels performed by the iron horse upon the new roads stretching away toward all points of the compass. A practical outlet for his young enthusiasm was soon furnished, as the Boston & Maine railroad, one of the earliest among New England lines, was gradually pushing its course eastward toward its proposed terminus and must pass Dover by the way. The direction of his life was set from that hour; he was born for the railroad, and its advent was not so tardy but that it could take him with all the fire and enthusiasm of youth and make of him a faithful devotee. All his spare moments were spent upon the line, upon or in sight of the locomotive and in the company of railroad men; books, home and play were alike of secondary consideration. At last, as one has well said, "the warfare between duty and desire which fills the young life of so many active spirits, the struggle between doubt and decision which is a chapter in so many home stories, had their customary and only consistent conclusion when, at the age of sixteen, his parents yielded to his strong desires to learn a trade akin to all his tastes, and placed him as an apprentice in the works of his cousins, Messrs. Isaac and Seth Adams, then manufacturers

of printing-presses at Boston. But this was too far removed from his desire to be satisfactory, and finally in 1846, when he was eighteen years of age, he was permitted to transfer his service to the Boston & Maine railroad shops, then located at Andover, Massachusetts. He was now in the line of his life work, and results showed accordingly. He became a close student of all that bore upon his line of work, and, never satisfied with simply seeing results, drove his probe deep into the causes and springs of action that led to such results. His progress was, therefore, rapid and substantial. When but twenty he left the shops to "learn the road," going out as fireman; and in May, 1849, when he was yet twenty-one, found himself promoted to the position of engineer. He had at last reached a firm round of the ladder and his course, upward was rapid and sure.

In 1832 were laid the initial miles of that great iron roadway that was to assume so dominant a part in the future railway system of the country—the New York & Erie railway. Section by section the road was extended from Piermont, on the Hudson, westward; and in 1850 the further end of the line was commenced by building eastward from Dunkirk, the western terminus. Seventy-eight miles of the road were laid in that year, and in the month of October engine No. 90 was turned out from the shops at Boston, for service on the new and extreme western section of the road. To safely transport so large and unusual a freight across five hundred miles of country, the largest portion of which had as yet no railway facilities, was not an

easy matter; and when the young engineer, Horatio G. Brooks, was chosen for the task, it was a compliment to his energy and trustworthiness of no small degree. For nearly two months, by coaster, canal-boat and other means of transportation, the ponderous freight was carried westward, until on November 28, 1850, it was safely landed at Dunkirk; and to its successful young engineer belongs the honor of having blown the first locomotive whistle in the county of Chautauqua—the pioneer of the vast railroad system of to-day in the greater west.

During the six years that ensued, Mr. Brooks continued in the position of engineer on the western section of the new Erie road, contributing largely, by an interested performance of his duty, to the road's rapid development. In November, 1856, without any solicitation on his part, came an invitation to the post of master mechanic on the Ohio & Mississippi railroad, a new line destined to extend from Cincinnati to St. Louis. The charge was accepted; and for nearly four years he brought his organizing faculties to bear upon the still embryonic corporation, until in March, 1860, when he returned to Dunkirk and to the service of the Erie. He accepted the position of master mechanic in the Dunkirk shops; and two years later this broadened into a still greater responsibility by his promotion, in October, 1862—upon the re-organization of the Erie management—to the post of superintendent of the western division of the road, from Hornellsville to Dunkirk, performing still his duties as master mechanic of the Western and North-western divisions. His course was such

in this responsibility that he was soon called to one still higher; and in March, 1865, he was appointed superintendent of motive power and machinery for the entire road, and removed his office to New York city. It was a confining and onerous position, demanding constant, unremitting and almost sleepless attention. Involving thus great responsibilities and personal demands, it was also held at a time when the financial and executive administration of the affairs of the Erie railway were brilliant in character, but questionable and dangerous in methods and results. In 1869 the climax was reached, when, under stress of financial needs and enforced necessity, the administration of the road determined to close up the Dunkirk shops.

Mr. Brooks was in his office, busy with the manifold duties of his department, when this determination, with its unexpected blow at the prosperity of Dunkirk, was communicated to him. It came from Mr. Jay Gould, president of the company, in a written order in which the decision was explained, and he was directed to proceed to Dunkirk, distribute the machinery and material on hand to the other company works to the best possible advantage, pay off the men and permanently close the works. It was a blow to his affection and personal loyalty to Dunkirk, which he had already come to love as an adopted home; and none knew better than himself that it would be a final blow to the prosperity of the place, already damaged by the transfer of the western terminus of the main line to Buffalo. He determined to avert this blow if possible, and after mature consideration, came to

a conclusion that shows in a remarkable manner his courage and energy of action. He made to the managers of Erie a proposition that, in connection with others whose coöperation his personal conduct of the business would make sure, to lease the entire manufacturing property and plant of the road at Dunkirk, for the purpose of embarking in the manufacture of locomotives. His proposition also embraced the purchase of such material as was on hand, and such locomotives as were then in process of construction, at actual cost; the railroad company only binding itself to purchase twenty-five locomotives per year, for each year of the proposed lease, which was to extend for a period of ten years. This proposition was accepted, and Mr. Brooks entered upon the chief labor of his life, in which he found fame and fortune, and built a monument to his memory of which any man might be proud—the great Brooks Locomotive works of to-day.

On the thirteenth of November, 1869, the Brooks Locomotive works were organized, the manufacturing capacity of which were, at that time, one locomotive per month. The task that Mr. Brooks had set before him was one of no light character, and that out of the condition of things at that time, his own business inexperience and the dark days that followed, he should have wrested a grand success and created a great industrial property, is the best evidence of the mental shape and mould of the man that could be given. His immediate task was the creation of a factory for one article, the locomotive, out of an establishment built and arranged for general repairs, for

the making of cars, and for other uses in addition to the locomotive department by itself. He built enough cars to use up the material on hand, and then abandoned that branch of the business, and so with all that did not of right belong to the one purpose he had in hand. The six or eight locomotives under process of manufacture at the time of the lease were completed and delivered to the company at a loss; and it was then that Mr. Brooks learned that, in order to compete with outside shops, he must build his engines more economically than was possible—or can be possible—to a shop belonging to a railroad and managed by it—a point which he ere long had satisfactorily gained. The will and energy of the man in the years that followed were severely tried, but he proved himself equal to every demand made upon it. By 1872 the capacity of the works had increased to a manufacturing total of seventy-two engines per year. In 1873 came the panic—the days that tried men's souls and sent many a strong and seemingly prosperous concern down to irredeemable ruin. The industries of the country lay crushed and paralyzed, and none felt the blow more seriously than the railways. But through all that dismal season, and until the country finally rallied from the depression in 1879, Mr. Brooks never lost faith in the safe outcome of it all. The works, though running at a loss, were not broken up; and out of the very necessities of those trying times were evolved the possibilities for future and even greater power. Through the years of depression the works were kept running, though at a great loss; and employment was thus given to hundreds who, had a

selfish policy been pursued, must have been dispirited, dispersed or dependent. All the time, care and thought of the head of the works were devoted to improving and perfecting his facilities, in the belief of better times; and when at last these came, in 1879, the Brooks Locomotive works swung out into mid-stream, fully manned and provided for the success that came as the result of unwavering faith and unflinching energy, with a yearly manufacturing capacity, which in 1880 reached a total of one hundred locomotives. The permanence and reputation of the works were assured, and the name of Horatio G. Brooks and the Brooks locomotive became known in every quarter of the land. New business, even beyond the increased capacities of the works, came in from all directions, and two hundred locomotives were turned out in 1882. In July, 1883, the company took an advance step onward—from lessee to proprietor—by the purchase from the Erie company of the lease and property of the entire works. Still greater force and energy were given to the development of the business, and by 1885 the full capacity of the works had reached a total of twenty locomotives per month, or nearly two hundred and fifty per year. A progress such as this, in the face of obstacles and hindrances that would stagger less sanguine and determined natures, means, of course, untiring work, a burden of care and responsibilities ever constant and pressing, a watchfulness, a quick perception of opportunities, and a thorough knowledge of necessities and details that must tax all the energies of mind and brain alike. Each requirement of the situation was fully met by Mr.

Brooks, and the results of his labor are the best proof of the manner in which it was performed.

The success of the company in a business and financial way is a matter of general knowledge, as no locomotive works in the land stands above it in reputation, and evidences of its skill are found in almost every direction in which the rush of the iron horse is heard. This success and this reputation have come as the result of no accident, but are the fruits of excellence of work and a genius of management. The advance of the works themselves from humble and confused beginnings to the compact and harmonious whole of to-day, is another evidence of that central fact. The striking fact is apparent with force to anyone competent to judge, that the development of the great and complete works of to-day from the composite department of 1869 has been a great achievement—far greater than the building of a perfected establishment from beginnings altogether new. The arrangement of internal economy for the handling of material as it goes through from the raw article to the completed machine, is the best and most effective of any establishment of the character in the world—a marvel of mechanical skill and genius. Mr. Brooks had the grasp of mind and the foresight necessary to a symmetrical development of the whole along one general line of improvement, so that one department would admirably and economically fit into and harmonize with the rest. Another marked feature is, that all parts of the works are upon the first floor, a saving of force and lifting apparent at a glance—another evidence of

Mr. Brooks' foresight and readiness to make good use of all the possible opportunities that might offer. A striking fact in illustration of this point was noted in 1880. Mr. Brooks had been in consultation with leading railroad men of the east—among whom was no less an authority than Honorable Hugh J. Jewett, then president of the Erie—all of whom advised him that a curtailment of his obligations and capacity rather than enlargement would be wise, as the immediate future was by no means secure and propitious. But Mr. Brooks read the signs of that future differently, and he read them aright, for he went home and immediately erected an addition to his works—sure of an advance of business and determined to be ready to grasp it as it came. His opinion was more than justified by the results, and when the advance came it found him fully prepared.

In the early years of development, as has been above said, Mr. Brooks made it his main work of internal arrangement to transform a general repair shop into a complete locomotive works, and with that accomplished, he next turned his attention to such additions as the growing business demanded. In 1885 a new wood-working shop, of brick, was added; in 1886 this was followed by a new boiler shop, the floor of which is covered by a traveling crane which has the greatest span of any in the country—eighty feet. Near the same time, when signs were not yet visible to many of the season of unusual prosperity so close at hand, he decided on renewing the blacksmith and forge shops, making each a new building, and also enlarging the machine and erecting

shops—improvements which have been fully carried out.

This brief reference to the mechanical monument erected by this busy artisan can be concluded in no more appropriate way than to borrow the language of one well fitted to speak of his life and life work.* "In the great locomotive works of this place—works to an untrained eye as complicated and labyrinthine with machinery as any forest of the tropics is with vegetable growth, a silence has reigned for the past three days more deeply impressive than that of a Sabbath morning in the country. Walking from the erecting shop, where a row of great mogul engines stand like ships of the line on their stocks with the name 'Brooks' upon their cylinders, through rooms or shops which time, not to say lack of ability, forbids us to attempt to describe, we come in our course to the great high room where the traveling crane of eighty feet span is being brought to completion, and which its planner, had he lived three days longer, would have had the pleasure of seeing in actual operation. Thence at length we come to where, in a broad and seemingly immense area, the ground has been broken and walls begun for fresh improvements on a scale suggestive of large and brainy conceptions. We are now, while in these works, in the busy heart of Dunkirk, and strange enough it is not to hear its tumultuous throbings. We are also in the brain centre of Dunkirk, where most of the genius, the study, the inventiveness has had operation and

* From a memorial discourse on the death of Mr. Brooks, delivered by the Rev. Edward P. Adams, at the Dunkirk city hall, on Sunday morning, April 27, 1887.

with such successful results. Everything speaks of one man—H. G. Brooks. What we see here is the realization of what we may call his happy conception, the conception not of his fruitful brain alone, but of a heart sympathetic with Dunkirk and her people.

"The works, as an institution of human thought and industry, is a wonder. Here you read as in a book the story of nineteenth century progress. Here you may trace the interaction of labor and capital in their least antagonistic forms. Here is a division of labor unknown a half century ago, and here is to be found ample evidence that the ravening spirit of competition, intensified a hundred-fold in these modern times, is not ignored or permitted to steal a march from lack of vigilance on the part of the man at the head. I refer to outside competition that says imperatively to every factory and shop of the land, 'Invent, improve, multiply your facilities or go under!' With a clear conception that the manufacturer who can make the cheapest and at the same time best engine is the one who alone will be able to live and hold his own, this man drew from his own resources a constant procession of devices. This is the explanation of the swift-recurring changes of the past, as well as of the improvements going on in the present. An imperative demand was upon this man's inventive intelligence. That he was successful is attested by his success, and, in a more concrete way, by the large proportion of prizes borne off at the Chicago Railway exhibition some three or four years ago. An engine of his construction, if I am rightly informed, ran the greatest number

of thousands of miles without a visit to the repair shops of any engine on record in this country. It is safe to say that no imperfect machine could ever leave his works by his knowledge. He was conscientious in all his work to the last degree."

Mr. Brooks was so interested in a business life, and so anxious to properly fulfill its duties, that he had no time for practical politics or office-holding, although an outspoken Republican, a supporter of a protective tariff and an interested observer of passing events. Three terms as mayor of Dunkirk and a membership of the water board of the same city completed his official life, although his record therein showed that he was adapted for work of that character had his time permitted, and he was more than once named for places of greater honor and responsibility. He was a director of the Lake Shore National bank, a director and at one time president of the Agricultural Society of Northern Chautauqua, while for many years he was a leading power in the Master Mechanics' association, taking an active part in the business and discussions, and his progressive spirit is shown in all the speeches he made and all the reports he inspired.

The personal character of a man is best read in the feelings with which he is regarded by those who have been his neighbors and associates through years of labor and endeavor, and, viewed through that medium, we can but pronounce Horatio G. Brooks what the above record would seem to indicate—one of nature's strong men, well disciplined, eager to work and more eager to help, brave and generous, full of charity for the lack of

others and never boastful of himself. He was a man of broad, hearty and genial nature, and of an intense vitality and energy. Everything in which he was interested was taken hold of with a will, and he gave to it the resources of an exceptionally well-stored mind and an executive ability of the highest quality. He was an ardent friend of American labor; he spared no pains to secure the comfort and welfare of his employes, and believed that skilled labor deserved generous compensation. He was unwearied in his care for the comfort and welfare of the men under him, and was the friend and adviser of any of them who were in trouble. Some years before his death he fitted up rooms with all the appliances necessary for a first-class school, and employed teachers for the boys and young men engaged in the shop during the day. His charities were large and modestly given; he was first and foremost in aiding every proposed local enterprise. His broad Christianity embraced all churches and creeds, and his purse was open to them all. In brief, hardly anything of local moment was considered sure of success until Mr. Brooks was enlisted therein, and his support was sure if the enterprise was worthy. He possessed a vigorous constitution, a magnificent physical frame, whose strength was the marvel of all who saw the tests he could undergo, and a capability of endurance that enabled him to perform an unusual work in the world; and we must be content in the verdict of all who knew him—that his life work was indeed well done.

The good works Horatio G. Brooks had already done were to be followed by

many like deeds planned forth in his active mind, and he was facing a pleasant future in which should be found rich compensation for the losses and labors of the past, when into it all came the summons that all must heed, and the strong man was stricken to the earth in a blow. For a week or so he had been slightly ill, but nothing in that had caused apprehension in his mind or that of even those closest about him. He had been at no time confined to the house, and on the forenoon of April 19, 1887, he had visited the Locomotive works as usual. In the afternoon he was busy in some matter of home arrangements, showing therein his usual interest and earnestness. At half-past five of the afternoon he was found unconscious upon the floor of his parlor, stricken by paralysis, induced by apoplexy. Medical help of the ablest character was summoned, and, although there was a slight rallying in the early evening, hope was ere long given up. He never spoke after the shock, although an occasional sign of consciousness was shown, but lingered along until noon of the twentieth, when he passed peacefully away.

The universal loss of those about him, echoed in a wider sense from hundreds of points in the great world beyond, was well expressed by the local writer who said: "In the death of Mr. Brooks, Dunkirk loses the one beyond all others she could least have borne to lose; the one on whom, beyond all others, our eyes were centered; the one who represented, to an incomparable fullness, the welfare of our city. He was our chiefest man, our first citizen. In his death there is a loss

which cannot be repaired ; there is no one who can fill the place which he occupied. In how wide a sense is his death to be mourned ? What relation his life has borne to the prosperity of Dunkirk is known to all. He has been the mainstay of its fortunes for many years in the great enterprise which he founded. So intimately has he been connected with the welfare of the city that the one cannot be considered without the other.

"In a personal sense, no less than in a

public, he is to be mourned. The good he has done has not been alone in the relation already specified. He has been public-spirited, earnest for the good of the city and energetic in its accomplishment ; kind, noble and generous in all his dealings with men ; his name bright with honor in his many capacities ; liberal in charity to a large degree, as modest in his giving as he was free—in all the relations of his life he squared his actions with honor and nobility of purpose."

WILLIAM MASON.

William Mason, who has built for himself a monument prouder than any of granite or brass, in the great machine works of Taunton, Massachusetts, that bear his name, was one of that class of intelligent and ingenious mechanics who, in spite of early disadvantages and by the force of native genius, leave their impress upon the age to which they belong. The genius with which nature had endowed him was supplemented by an energy that enabled him to make the best possible use of such opportunities as came in his way, and a patience to wait for results. His boyhood was successively passed in the blacksmith-shop, the cotton-mill and the machine-shop. In 1826, when he was near his majority, he was engaged at Canterbury, Connecticut, in constructing and setting up power-looms for the manufacture of diaper linen, believed to be the first adapted to this kind of work in the world. Subsequently to this he was engaged, at Killingly, in manufacturing a new article of "ring travelers" or ring

frames, which still occupy a high place in throstle or frame spinning, and afterwards in Taunton, Massachusetts, which, after many sad disappointments and reverses that would have crushed many men—caused by the failure of others—he made the field of his main life operations and in which he conquered a grand success. While there, employed as foreman for Crocker and Richmond, machinists, he perfected the great invention of his life, the "self-acting mule," a machine now so well known to all who use cotton machinery that a detailed description of it would be superfluous. In 1842, when his employers had failed, he became, through the assistance of friends, the chief owner and manager of the works. The prosperous times which succeeded the Tariff act of 1842, and the confidence felt by the cotton and other manufacturers in Mr. Mason's mechanical abilities, at once established a business which, in a very few years, enabled him to erect, after his own design, the noble buildings known as



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Am Mason

the Mason Machine works, the largest, it has been said, ever erected at one time for the manufacture of machinery. The main shop was three hundred and fifteen feet long and three stories high, but addition after addition has been made to accommodate a constantly increasing business until the buildings covered an area of over ten acres. His business comprised the manufacture of cotton and woolen machinery, machinists' tools, blowers, cupola furnaces, gearing and shafting, but the branch in which he was especially successful was the manufacture of cotton machinery. In this department he labored indefatigably to devise and introduce those various improvements which have contributed to increase the production, extend the consumption and diminish the price of cotton fabrics. In passing it may be profitable to quote the remarks of a well-known specialist, who, in commenting upon these works and the results they have aided in producing, says: "In Constantinople, Alexandria and Cairo, it has been for years the practice of hawkers or peddlers of cotton goods to represent those of British manufacture as "Americans," because from the recognized superiority of American cottons they can obtain a higher price for inferior fabrics by giving them an American name. If unrestrained by hostile legislation, American manufacturers could monopolize the markets of the world in the sale of the lower grades of cotton goods; and for this advantage they are indebted not alone to the comparative cheapness of cotton, but to the superior machinery that has been placed at their command by American mechanics."

In 1852 Mr. Mason made an addition

to the works previously erected, for the purpose of undertaking the building of locomotives; and in 1853 he brought out his first locomotive, which at once attracted attention for its beauty and remarkable symmetry of design. With characteristic fertility of genius, he aimed to step aside from the beaten track and originate a new model, combining especially beauty of external appearance with excellence of workmanship; and it has been said of him that he brought nearly all the credit upon New England engines that they are likely to retain; and he is probably the only New England builder who has left his mark on the American locomotive.

In his engines the dome was placed exactly over the joint of the equalizing lever between the drivers; the smoke-box cylinder and smoke-stacks were placed in the same vertical line as the truck-pintle, and the sand-box was placed nearly midway between. The chimney, which, although comparatively light, has necessarily the appearance of great weight, was thus brought directly over the truck, which supported its load with the symmetry of a pedestal in architecture. Mr. Mason discarded all outward incumbrances, such as frames and their accompanying diagonal braces, resembling a ship's shrouds, thus leaving all the working parts in full view, and a clear range from end to end and under the boiler; the horizontal lines of his running-board, hand-rail, feed-pipe, etc., heighten the symmetry of the design, while the graceful forms and disposition of the details give a finished expression to the whole sufficient to raise it out of the range of mere mechanics and to give it the dignity

of a work of genuine art. A competent authority has remarked that, "An examination of American locomotives affords abundant proof that beauty of design and accuracy of proportion are almost always accompanied by excellence of workmanship. In mechanism, elegant outlines and an agreeable disposition of details are never the result of chance, while at the same time a mere artist would be as incapable as a careless workman to produce them. A truly beautiful locomotive—for extraneous ornament and skin-deep decoration do not produce beauty—must be the work of one who thoroughly understands its mechanism; and the machinist who can produce an elegant design will be constitutionally sensitive in the matter of workmanship with all its mechanical refinements of fit and finish. No one, we are sure, will deny that even a locomotive may possess beauty, and we pity anyone who, having once seen an engine of the Rogers or Mason style, has failed to discover that quality in its outline, arrangement and detail. The forms of art may be as beautiful as those of nature, although the effect of the former may be due to certain outward analogies which they bear to the latter."

With the locomotive branch of his business once well established, Mr. Mason, in obedience to that restless activity that would never allow him to remain idle, took another step forward in the same direction. He equipped a foundry for the manufacture of car-wheels. In these, as in everything else he attempted, he aimed at improvement. His wheels are what are called "spoke" or tubular, in contradistinction to the "plate" wheels, a shape

which experience has proven to insure the greatest strength, besides securing uniformity with the driving wheels.

When the Rebellion was precipitated upon the Nation and war declared, the government, among its many other difficulties, was awakened to the unpleasant fact that there were but seventy thousand efficient muskets at its command. Mr. Mason, in connection with others, set about providing the necessary facilities for the manufacture of fire-arms. He erected an armory, and equipped it with the best machinery that could be obtained, some of which he further improved by original inventions. He manufactured various kinds of arms, but chiefly Springfield rifled muskets, turning them out at the average rate of six hundred per week. "It will thus be seen," says one biography of Mr. Mason, "that his business comprised the manufacture of cotton machinery, locomotives, car-wheels and fire-arms, each of which is usually carried on as a distinct business in separate establishments, and considered sufficient to task the ability of a single individual, while to conduct them all successfully required the talents and powers of a master mind. This is, indeed, one of the few really remarkable manufactories of America."

In 1873 the business was organized as the Mason Machine works, a joint-stock company being formed, with a capital of \$800,000. Its officers were: William Mason, president; William H. Bent, treasurer; Frederick Mason, agent, and Charles R. Olney, clerk. At present its officers are: Frederick Mason, president; William H. Bent, treasurer, and William Mason, clerk. William Mason, senior, died on May 21, 1883, closing a life of varied and uniform usefulness, in which great results had been produced by extended labor and courage in the face of difficulties.

OMAHA.

II.

THE purchase of Louisiana by the United States, already mentioned, was effected by the payment to France of fifteen million dollars, of which amount eleven and a quarter millions dollars were paid in a six per cent. stock, and the balance was made up of claims of American citizens against France, which its government had stipulated to pay, and which the United States now assumed. The area of the country thus purchased, according to the estimates of both France and the United States, exceeded a million of square miles; but all except a small portion of it was occupied by savage tribes, its original proprietors. Its few civilized inhabitants were French, principally, and the descendants of French, with a small number of Spanish creoles, Americans, English and Germans. The whole amounted to no more than about eighty thousand, including something near forty thousand slaves. Thomas Jefferson, then President of the United States, was delighted with this acquisition to our territory. He wrote to a friend that it more than doubled the area of the country and that it was not inferior to the old part in soil, climate, productions and important communications. He believed, also, that it afforded the means of tempting all the Indians on the east of the Mississippi to remove to the west, but in

this he was mistaken, although they were *induced* to move in the course of time beyond the great river.*

It was not many months after the erection of the "District of Louisiana," mention of which has before been made, before congress passed an act (March 3, 1805), changing the name to the "Territory of Louisiana." The act made provisions for a governor, secretary and two judges. It was detached from the territory of Indiana and erected into a separate territory of the second class. Thomas Jefferson, who was then President of the United States, appointed James Wilkinson as governor, and Frederick Bates secretary. St. Louis was made the capital. The judges named by Jefferson were Return J. Meigs and John B. C. Lucas. These, with the governor, constituted the legislature; but, so far as what is now Omaha, or the state in which it is situated, was concerned, there might as well have been no legislature—no government, indeed—as there were no settlements either in what is now the state of Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas or Nebraska, or the territory of Dakota.

In the course of time another change was made. The "Territory of Louisiana" became the "Territory of Missouri" by an act of congress passed the

* See Tucker's 'Life of Jefferson,' Vol. II., p. 142.

fourth of June, 1812, which provided also for a governor and secretary, and vested the legislative power in the former officer and in a council and house of representatives. The members of the house were elected by the people. The council was appointed by the President of the United States. The judicial power was exercised by a superior court, by inferior courts and by justices of the peace. The judges were appointed by the President.

A singular circumstance is, that at this very time Lord Selkirk began a permanent white settlement in the extreme north part of this territory, at Pembina. He supposed he was on British soil and that the land belonged to his colony of Assiniboia. But in this he was mistaken. He was in what is now Dakota.

On the second day of March, 1819, the congress of the United States created out of "Missouri Territory" another, which was named "Arkansas." On the sixth of March, 1820, an act was approved authorizing the people of "Missouri Territory" to form a constitution and state government and for the admission of the state into the Union, which event took place on the second of March, 1821, but this was only after a protracted and exciting political struggle, which ended in the "Missouri Compromise" of 1820, by which the new state was permitted to retain slavery. That part of the former "Territory of Missouri" which was not included within the boundaries of the state retained its boundaries northward until 1834. It extended to British America and westward to the Rocky mountains; but

during this time it was practically without a government, although it was (not very long after Missouri became a state) attached to the United States district of that commonwealth; this "Missouri attachment" being of little or no use, as there were in reality very few white people to be governed.

In 1834 a considerable portion of the northern part of "Missouri Territory," was set off to the territory of Michigan, including what is now the state of Iowa, so much of Minnesota as lies west of the Mississippi, also the present territory of Dakota; and the country thus separated from it was never returned, leaving it to include only what is now the greater part of Kansas and the whole of Nebraska. But, as will hereafter be seen, the whole was "wiped out" in 1854. Having thus considered the various changes of government appertaining to the territory first designated by the United States as the "District of Louisiana," that took place previous to the passage of the famous "Kansas and Nebraska Act" by congress, it is proper that we return in our investigations to the beginning of the explorations which in the end brought to the knowledge of the people of the United States, in a clear and distinctive manner, not only the country immediately upon the west bank of the Missouri wherein is now located the present city of Omaha, but a vast territory [adjacent] thereto and including the region also of the Rocky mountains and the great Valley of the Columbia river.

At the date when Louisiana became an integral part of the United States

there were some white settlements on the Missouri—from its mouth extending up the stream a distance a little over fifty miles. About twenty-one miles from its confluence with the Mississippi was the town of St. Charles, already mentioned, situated on its north bank. One principal street, about a mile in length and running parallel to the river, divided the place, which was composed of nearly one hundred small wooden houses besides a chapel. The inhabitants numbered about four hundred and fifty, chiefly descendants of the French in Canada. They subsisted mostly by hunting and trading with the Indians.

Above St. Charles there were several small farms on the bank of the stream, and, on the south side, on a small water-course known as Goodman's creek, a few emigrants from the United States had settled. To them, of course, it was an intense gratification to learn that now they were in their own country—that they were no longer under the rule of a foreign power. Still farther up the Missouri, on the north side, at the mouth of a stream then known as Osage Woman river, there was still another settlement of Americans, this one having some thirty or forty families. The last white settlement in ascending the river was La Charrette, a village of seven houses and of as many poor families, who had fixed themselves there for the convenience of trade. Beyond them, on the Missouri, civilization had nowhere gained a foothold, and this was only a little over three-quarters of a century ago. The "march of empire"

has not only been "westward" but it has been wonderful within that period!

An act for establishing trading-houses among the Indians being about to expire, President Jefferson, in January, 1803 (which was prior to the acquisition of Louisiana), recommended to congress, in a confidential message, an extension of its provisions to the Indians on the Mississippi. He also proposed that a party should be dispatched to trace the Missouri to its source, cross the Rocky mountains and proceed to the Pacific ocean. The plan was approved of, and Captain Meriwether Lewis was, on his own application, appointed to lead the expedition. William Clark, brother of George Rogers Clark, was afterward associated with him. Full instructions were given to Captain Lewis as to his route and the various objects to which he should direct his inquiries, relating to the geography and character of the country, the different inhabitants and their history, and all other matters worthy of being known.

Lewis, because of his leading the expedition which first made known to the world, in a particular manner, the immediate locality of what is now Omaha, as well as the region adjacent thereto, is deserving of mention in a brief biographical way. He was born near Charlottesville, Virginia, on the eighteenth of August, 1774, and was a great-nephew of Fielding Lewis, who was an ardent patriot of the Revolution and the brother-in-law of George Washington. He inherited a fortune from his father, who died when the son was

a child. Meriwether, who was of a bold and adventurous disposition, left school at eighteen years of age, and in 1794 volunteered with the troops that were called out to quell the whisky insurrection in southwestern Pennsylvania. He entered the regular service in 1795; became captain in 1800, and in 1801-1803 was private secretary to President Jefferson—in the year last mentioned being appointed, as already stated, to the command of the expedition which was to explore the country westward and northwestward from the mouth of the Missouri river to the Pacific ocean.

After an absence of two years and four months, Lewis returned to St. Louis. He was made governor of Missouri territory, which, as hereafter shown, was organized under a law passed in 1812, and soon entered upon the duties of his office. But he found the country torn by dissensions, and, although his impartiality and firmness restored comparative order, he began to suffer from a dangerous disease, to which he had been subject from his youth. During one of his attacks of depression he was called to Washington, and at a lodging-place at Tennessee he put an end to his life. "He was," says Jefferson, "courageous and undaunted, possessing a firmness of purpose which nothing but impossibilities could divert from its direction, and was intimate with Indian character, customs and principles."

William Clark, the chief assistant of Lewis, was born in Virginia on the first day of August, 1776. He re-

moved with his family, in 1784, to the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville), where his brother had built a fort. He became early acquainted with the methods of Indian warfare, and was appointed ensign at the age of eighteen; and, on the seventh of March, 1792, became a lieutenant of infantry. He was assigned to the Fourth sub-legion in December of that year, and was made adjutant and quartermaster in September, 1793, but resigned in July, 1796, on account of ill-health. Soon afterward he removed to St. Louis. In March, 1804, he received the appointment of a second lieutenant of artillery, with orders to join Lewis on his exploring tour. Clark, it may be premised, was really the principal military director of the expedition, materially assisting its commander in the scientific arrangements; also keeping a journal, which was afterward published, and to which we must now refer for information of almost inestimable value to the only history of Omaha.

In January, 1806, Clark, upon his return, was promoted to first lieutenant, and was nominated to be lieutenant-colonel of the Second infantry, but was not confirmed by the senate. He resigned from the army on the twenty-seventh of February, 1807, and officiated as Indian agent till he was appointed by congress brigadier-general for the territory of Louisiana, hereafter to be mentioned. During the War of 1812, he declined the appointment of brigadier-general in the army, and also the command then held by General Hull. President Madison appointed him

governor of Missouri territory in 1813, and he held the office until the organization of the state in 1821. He remained in private life until May, 1822, when President Monroe made him superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis. This office he held until his death, which occurred on the first day of September, 1838.*

Lewis and Clark's party consisted of nine young men from Kentucky, fourteen soldiers of the United States army who volunteered their services, two French watermen, an interpreter and hunter, and a black servant belonging to the commander of the expedition. All these were enlisted to serve as privates during the expedition, except the last mentioned. In addition to these, a corporal and six soldiers, also nine watermen, were to accompany the others as far as the Mandem Nation, in order to assist in carrying stores or repelling an attack, which was most to be apprehended between Wood river and the home of that tribe.

Captain Lewis with his force proceeded to the bank of the Mississippi, opposite the mouth of the Missouri (which river they were to ascend), leaving their camp and starting on their journey on the fourteenth of May, 1804. Having, on the twenty-fifth of the month, reached La Charrette, already spoken of as the farthest civilized settlement at that date up the river, the party moved boldly onward, henceforth to see no

villages or settlements except those of savages. It was in reality the pioneer exploring enterprise of the vast region to the westward of the Mississippi, extending to the Pacific ocean; hence its importance and the interest attaching to it at that time, and which has ever since that date been kept alive.

The expedition embarked from their encampment opposite the mouth of the Missouri on the fourteenth day of May, 1804, in three boats. Captain Lewis took with him all the stores thought to be necessary, together with presents for the Indians to be given whenever the exigency might seem to demand it. Two horses were led along the river (Missouri) to be used in hunting. On the twenty-fifth La Charrette was reached, and the mouth of the Osage river on the first day of June. The party was now in the territory of the red men exclusively, and all villages visited by them henceforth were those of savages. It was the twenty-sixth of June before the mouth of the Kansas river was seen, and here a camp was made, the captain and his men remaining there two days. It was a quarter of a century after this before Kansas City was even *dreamed* of, and fully a half century before it became a "stern reality." It is now the second city of Missouri, and who can say with positiveness that it will not soon rank as the first?

It was the eleventh day of July when a point opposite the mouth of the Nemaha river was reached by the expedition; and here, on a large island of sand, on the north side of the Missouri, a camp was formed. The Ne-

* Consult for brief but excellent biographies of Lewis and Clark, Appleton's Cyclo. Amer. Biog., Arts. "Meriwether Lewis" and "William Clark," from which I have drawn for the foregoing sketches.

maha, as everyone knows, enters the river last mentioned very near the southeast corner of Nebraska. As, therefore, Captain Lewis and his party from this point explored, up the Missouri to the mouth of the Niobrara, much of what is now the eastern boundary of that state, and as they passed along where Omaha is now situated, an account of what was seen by them is of especial interest in this connection, as being the first narrative ever published giving an idea of the immediate locality of the city.

Captain Clark explored the Nemaha a short distance above its confluence with the Missouri. He found about two miles above its mouth, on a level plain, several prehistoric earthworks; also some on the adjoining hills; but these artificial mounds the explorer erroneously imagined had been thrown up by the Indians who then inhabited the country. "From the top of the highest mound," says the journal of the expedition, "a delightful prospect presented itself. The level and extensive meadows, watered by the Nemaha and enlivened by the few trees and shrubs skirting the borders of the river and its tributary streams [were seen; also] the lowlands of the Missouri covered with undulating grass, nearly five feet high, gradually rising into a second plain, where rich weeds and flowers are interspersed with copses of the Osage plum. Farther back were seen small groves of trees; an abundance of grapes; the wild cherry of the Missouri, resembling our own, but larger and growing on a small bush,

and the choke-cherry, which we observed for the first time. Some of the grapes gathered to-day [July 12] are nearly ripe. On the south of the Nemaha and about a quarter of a mile from its mouth, is a cliff of freestone, in which are various inscriptions and marks made by the Indians." Such was Captain Lewis' first glimpse of Nebraska.

It is abundantly disclosed by the narrative of the expedition, that at this date (1804) the tributaries of the Missouri, large and small, had, everywhere between what are now the states of Iowa and Nebraska, become familiar to white traders, as their names are nearly all noted in the journal of the expedition, so, also, with many islands. "We proceeded," is the record for the twelfth of July, "at sunrise [from a point opposite the Big Nemaha] with a fair wind from the south, and at two miles passed the mouth of a small river on the north called Big Torkio. A channel from the bed of the Missouri once ran into this river and formed an island called St. Joseph's, but the channel is now filled up and the island is added to the northern shore." It is clear from this relation that Captain Lewis had learned particulars of the country antedating the time of his exploration a number of years. How his information was obtained does not appear. And his knowledge extended also to the dwelling on the banks of the Missouri of traders at previous times, for it is said in an entry in the journal of the expedition of the next day, that "one mile above [an island on the north side of the river] is

a small factory, where a merchant of St. Louis traded with the Otoes and Pawnees two years ago."

Between six and seven miles above this "factory," the lower point of a large island was reached on the north side of the river. And now the journal of the explorers gives an important item of information: "A small distance above this point is a river, called by the Maha Indians the Nishnabatona. This is a considerable creek, nearly as large as the Mine river, and runs parallel to the Missouri, the greater part of its course being fifty yards wide at its mouth." Nowhere is to be found, so far as the writer has observed, earlier mention in print of the Indians afterward well known as the Omahas. The name Maha, as borne by this nation, was one of long standing,* and it was continued as the appellation of these savages for a number of years subsequent to the date of the exploration we are now considering, but was finally changed to Omaha, as already intimated.†

The party was now approaching the familiar region below what is now the city of Omaha. "A thick fog," is the record for the fifteenth of July, "prevented our leaving the encampment [on the north side of the island, a little above 'Nishnabatona,'] before seven [o'clock A. M.]. At about four miles we reached the extremity of the large island, and, crossing to the south [side of the Missouri into the present state

of Nebraska], at the distance of seven miles, arrived at the Little Nemaha, a small river from the south, forty yards wide a little above its mouth, but contracting, as do all the waters emptying into the Missouri, at its confluence. At nine and three-quarter miles we encamped on a woody point on the south. Along the southern bank is a rich lowland covered with pea-vine and rich weeds and watered by small streams rising in the adjoining prairies. They, too, are rich and, though with abundance of grass, have no timber except what grows near the water. Interspersed through both are grape-vines, plums of two kinds, two species of wild cherry, also hazel-nuts and gooseberries. On the south, there is one unbroken plain; on the north, the river is skirted with some timber, behind which the plain extends some four or five miles to the hills, which seem to have little wood."

Continuing on up the Missouri, Captain Lewis, with his three boats, passed several islands which had already received names, passing, on the twentieth of July, a small willow island and the mouth of a creek, "by the French called 'L'eau qui Pleure,' or the 'Weeping Water.'" "Thence," continues the journal, "we made two and one-half miles to another island; three miles farther, to a third; six miles beyond, to a fourth island, at the head of which we camped on the southern shore: [made] in all eighteen miles." The party was now on the Nebraska side of the Missouri, fourteen miles below the mouth of the Platte, which last-mentioned river was reached the next

*Compare 'Trans. and Rep. of the Neb. State Hist. Soc.,' Vol. I., p. 49.

†MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, Vol. VIII., p. 323.

day. The eastern boundary of what is now Sarpy county, and also that of Douglas county, Nebraska (the county-seat of the latter being Omaha), were next visited by the explorers, as well as territory on the opposite or east side of the Missouri, in what is now the state of Iowa. Of course, the record left by Captain Lewis of this portion of his route is, for the next few days, of great interest and importance as bearing directly upon the general subject in hand—the history of Omaha.

On the morning of the twenty-second of July the party again started up the Missouri, and, having found, at a distance of ten miles from the mouth of the Platte, a high and shaded situation on the north side of the Missouri, they encamped there to make observations, and to send for the neighboring tribes for the purpose of making known to them the recent change in the government of that portion of the country, consequent upon the purchase of Louisiana by the United States; and that it was the desire of the latter to cultivate their friendship. The expedition was encamped in the present Iowa; and, in order to confer with any Indians inhabiting what is now Nebraska, messengers had to be dispatched across the Missouri. The nation invited to a conference at this time was the Otoe. This tribe had once been powerful, and had lived about twenty miles above the Platte on the west bank of the Missouri. Being reduced, they emigrated up the Platte, on the south side of which, some thirty miles from its mouth, they had their village in 1804, which numbered

two hundred men, including about thirty families of Missouris (all that were left of that nation), who were incorporated with them.

Two men were dispatched by Captain Lewis to the Otoes, with a present of tobacco, and an invitation to their chiefs to visit the company at their encampment. Upon their arrival at the Otoe village, they found no Indians there, though they saw fresh tracks of a small party.

On the twenty-seventh of July the expedition again started up the Missouri, and at a distance of ten and a half miles, on the Nebraska side, there was seen and examined a curious collection of prehistoric mounds. They covered about two hundred acres, and were of different heights, shapes and sizes—some of sand and others of both sand and earth, the largest being nearest the river. After making fifteen miles, the party encamped for the night in what is now Nebraska. The next day they reached the place where the Iowa Indians had formerly lived. These savages emigrated thence to the Des Moines river. The hunter to the expedition in the evening brought to the camp of the explorers a Missouri Indian whom he had found, with two others, dressing an elk. They were perfectly friendly. They gave him some of the meat, and one of them agreed to accompany him to Captain Lewis' encampment, which he did. He was one of the few remaining Missouris living with the Otoes. He belonged to a small party whose lodge was four miles from the river. He reported that the body of

the Otoes were hunting buffalo on the plains. He was sent back by Captain Lewis the next morning with a man belonging to the expedition, bearing an invitation to the Otoes to meet them on the river above.

On the twenty-ninth of July, the party having stopped for dinner, "the traces of a great hurricane, which passed the river obliquely from northwest to southeast," and which had torn up large trees, "some of which, perfectly sound and four feet in diameter," had been "snapped off near the ground," were observed. "Cyclones," then, are not a "modern innovation" in the west.

On the last day of July the journal of the expedition has an entry to the effect that the hunters of the party brought in supplies of deer, wild turkeys, geese and beaver. One of the last named was brought in alive, and in a very short space of time perfectly tamed.

At sunset, on the second day of August, a party of about fourteen Otoe and Missouri Indians, accompanied by a Frenchman who lived with the savages and interpreted for them, reached Captain Lewis, to the great relief of the latter, who had remained in camp since the thirtieth of July awaiting the return of his messengers. As the Indians approached, Captains Lewis and Clark went out to meet them, and told them that they would hold a council with them in the morning. In the meantime

the savages were presented with some roasted meat, also a quantity of pork, flour and meal, in return for which the party were made the recipients of some water-melons.

The Indians had with them six of their chiefs, and, the next morning, all assembled under an awning formed by the mainsail of the boat—both white men and savages—to have a "talk." Captain Lewis informed the red men present of the change in the government of the country they occupied, that it now belonged to the United States. He promised them protection and gave them advice as to their future conduct. The Indians expressed their joy at the change of ownership of their country, and hoped Captain Lewis would recommend them to their great father, the President, that they might obtain trade and necessaries. They wanted arms, they said, as well for hunting as for defense; and they asked of the captain his mediation between them and the Mahas, with whom they were at war. This was promised, but a request that some of their band go with the white men to that nation was declined through fear of being killed by the enemy. Presents were then given them "which appeared to make them perfectly satisfied." "The incidents just related," says the journal of the expedition, "induced us to give to this place the name of Council Bluffs."

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

[To be continued.]

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE opening exercises of the Ohio Centennial Exposition at Columbus, on September 5, were not without historical interest, and were more fittingly planned and carried out than are many affairs of that character. Ex-President R. B. Hayes, who acted as president of the day, stepped forward as soon as the guests were seated, and announced that the invocation would be pronounced by Rev. Dr. Joseph M. Trimble, a son of the gallant Governor Trimble. General W. H. Gibson was next introduced, and delivered the address of welcome to the mother states, Virginia, Massachusetts and Connecticut. In eloquent terms the famous orator bade the visitors welcome to Ohio. He dwelt at length on the achievements of our people and the progress of the century. Lieutenant-Governor Brackett responded for Massachusetts in a scholarly and eloquent address. He said that thirty-nine citizens, representing the executive and legislative departments of the state of Massachusetts, were present in manifestation of interest of their people in the celebration. This number was almost equal to the number who landed in the second *Mayflower*, at Marietta, in the spring of 1788. Massachusetts, with pleasure and pride, recognized Ohio as a daughter and felt that she could receive no higher tribute than to be called mother to Ohio. Governor Lounsberry responded for Connecticut, and captivated the audience by his eloquent words and effective style of oratory. After referring in a witty manner to Connecticut's place on the programme, and saying that while the mother of states had been the President producer, Ohio seemed to have inherited that power, having given Harrison, Hayes and Garfield to the Nation and having plenty of timber left, he spoke of the pride that Connecticut had in Ohio, and that

Ohio should feel a noble pride in her grand success, but she must not forget the tribute of gratitude she owes to her parent state. Said he, "It is folly to ignore the logic of the century in a childish effort to forget the unpleasantness of a conflict. In one sense you are to forget even the glory which is behind as you press on to the triumphs which are before, but you cannot safely ignore the teachings of the past whether they are written in the history of your own experience or in that of some less fortunate sister state." In the afternoon Honorable Frank Hurd delivered an eloquent address of welcome to the visitors from the sister states—Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin—in which he paid the highest tribute to the framers of the Ordinance of 1788. Senator L. G. Palmer responded in behalf of Michigan.

MENTION has elsewhere been made of an odd and ancient volume of near a hundred years ago, that Woodward of New York has reprinted; and we are tempted to turn again to its pages, and note some of the sly touches that traveler John Pope aims at the places and people that lay along his line of travel. In the beginning, he tells us of his purpose: "On the first Day of June, 1790, I took my Departure from the City of Richmond with an Intention of visiting the Western Regions of *Kentucky* and exploring the *Spanish* Dominions of *Louisiana* and the two *Floridas*; as also the Territories of the Creek nation . . . How far I have succeeded in the Exploration of those Countries, the Reader will determine from a candid Perusal of my Journal." His first adventure of any note is thus described: "Arrived in *Winchester* much relaxed from the Heat of the Weather, and whilst lolling on a Couch was saluted by Mr. *John Welch*, who had served in

my Regiment in the Capacity of a common Soldier during the last War. With great Self-Complacency he informed me that since the War he had been prosperous in Life, had acquired a snug little Retreat in the Country, and then had a large Drove of Cattle within four Miles of the Place, which he meant to dispose of to the *French* emigrants then Stationary in *Winchester*,—that he wished to go back, meet the Drove and hurry them into town, lest others might supplant him in the Sale; but that he had sent his Horse to the same Pasture where his Cattle were, so that he should be under the Necessity of going on foot, unless he could beg, borrow, or steal a Nag to ride that small distance: Mr. *Welch*, I am happy to hear of your Prosperity, and you are entirely welcome to the Use of my Horse to ride that Distance—Sir, you are very good, and I'll embrace your generous Offer, and on my Return this Evening give myself the Pleasure of Dining with you. I fear some Accident has happened to Mr. *Welch*, as I have neither seen him, the Horse, Bridle or Saddle from that Hour to this!"

DESPITE this loss, he managed to reach Pittsburgh in safety, and gives us a glimpse of one of the passengers he met upon a boat *en route*: "It was some time last Month that Mr. *Fooley* eloped from his Lady under an Apprehension that she was preparing through the Medium of her Friends an Instrument of Writing for him to sign, whereby a considerable Part of his Fortune was to be vested in the Hands of Trustees, subject to her Controul. To this Mr. *Fooley* was utterly opposed—However, previous to his Elopement he left her an unlimited Power of Attorney, which he delivered into the Hands of his Overseer. At *Redstone* he disposed of his elegant Horse and Furniture for an old Brass Watch, which has the Property of being right once in every Twelve Hours: Notwithstanding this, Mr. *Fooley* is a Gentleman of Refinement, being both a Philosopher and Politician, with some Knowledge of Astrology and Palmistry." We gain another characteristic glimpse of this gentleman of refinement: "At *Louisville* the

first Object that caught my Attention was the ludicrous Mr. *Fooley*—Having exhausted all his Cash, he had exchanged his fine long tail'd broad Cloth Coat for a Sailor's coarse Jerkin, which reached within four Inches of the waistband of his red Plush Breeches—He had swapped his Beaver for a coarse, high crown'd narrow brimm'd Wool Hat, which he thought expedient, though contrary to all Precedent, to throw into a smart Triangular Cock; by the last Exchange he gained a round Half Dollar Piece. In this Garb our Hero fraught with consummate Impudence, set out in Quest of Adventures."

MR. POPE's impressions of Pittsburgh were by no means complimentary to that place: "The Town at present is inhabited with only some few Exceptions, by Mortals who act as if possessed of a Charter of Exclusive Privilege to filch from, annoy and harass her Fellow Creatures, particularly the incautious and necessitous; many who have emigrated from various parts of *Kentucky* can verify this Charge—Goods of every Description are dearer in *Pittsburgh* than in *Kentucky*, which I attribute to a combination of pensioned Scoundrels who infest the Place."

NEAR *Louisville* he "roused up" General George Clarke, "who, the *Kentuckians* say, hath actually been in a profound Slumber for upwards of four Years, without the least Symptoms of Wakefulness whatever;" and found the General full of a display which is described as "the Atticism of his Wit, the genuine Offspring of native Genius." He came "in Sight of the Town *Natches* . . . which contains about an Hundred Houses," and gives us various graphic descriptions of places in the south now familiar enough, but far enough away from the United States in those days.

THE literary work that has come from the pen of Albert G. Riddle possesses an unusual interest to Northern Ohio, not merely because Mr. Riddle was for so many years a resident

of that section, but from the fact that he has written so much of the Western Reserve, and preserved, in fiction that will live, so many facts that ought to live. A perusal of the paper prepared by Mr. Riddle for this issue of the *MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY* will give a clear idea of the relation of his work to the scene in which so much of it has been located. The passionate love of home that shines through it all, the attachment for place, and the appreciation of the homely qualities that made the early settlers of the Reserve the strong and wonderful men and women they were, are characteristics of Mr. Riddle's works, and give them a power and interest that not even their superior literary quality could supply. The paper referred to was prepared at the special request of the editor, who believed that something more than a mere formal enumeration of Mr. Riddle's various literary labors

should be placed upon the record and preserved.

THE *Atlantic Monthly* for October will contain an article of more than passing interest in the west, entitled "The Pioneers of Ohio." It is from the pen of Rufus King, the author of "Ohio," in the series of "American Commonwealths" in course of publication by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. of Boston.

By the kindness of Isaac Craig, esq., the Allegheny historian, we have received a copy of the *Pittsburgh Post*, which contains a finely prepared and illustrated history of the county of Allegheny, which has just reached its centennial—an event which the people of the county have celebrated in an enthusiastic and fitting manner. A vast amount of information of the century past is to be found in these pages of the *Post*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the *MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY*:

NOTE ON THE WALKING PURCHASE.

In Trego's "Geography of Pennsylvania," under the head of "Bucks County," I find some additional facts relative to the great Indian Walk, which was excellently discussed by the Honorable Russell Errett in the *MAGAZINE* for September. Trego terms them "the reminiscences of the venerable Samuel Preston," and says that they were published in the *Bucks county Patriot* in 1826. Mr. Preston's account is as follows:

"It appears that, in 1732, Thomas Penn, son of William Penn, came over as proprietary and remained about two years. He contracted with Teedyuscung, a noted and pretended chief, for the Indian title to all the land to be taken off by a parallel of latitude from any point as far as the best of three men could walk in a day, between sunrise and sunset, from a certain chestnut tree, at or near Bristol, in a northwest course. (Other traditionary accounts say this tree was near-Wrightstown, which

is more probable.) Great care was taken to select the most capable men for such a walk. The reward was five pounds in money and five hundred acres of land anywhere in the purchase. The choice fell upon James Yeates, Solomon Jennings and Edward Marshall. This Marshall was a native of Bucks, a stout, athletic man, famous as a hunter, chain carrier, etc. One of the longest days in the summer of 1733 was appointed and the champions notified. The people collected at what they thought the first twenty miles, on the Durham road, to see them pass. First came Yeates, stepping lightly, accompanied by Thomas Penn and attendants on horseback. After him, but out of sight, came Jennings, with a strong and steady step, and, yet further behind, Edward Marshall, apparently careless, swinging a hatchet and eating a dry biscuit. Bets ran in favor of Yeates. Marshall carried the hatchet to swing in his hands alternately, that the action in his arms should balance that of his legs. He was determined to win or die in the attempt. Yeates gave out near Durham creek. Marshall kept on, and before he reached the Lehigh, he overtook and passed Jennings, waded

that river at Bethlehem and hurried on, by the spot where Nazareth now stands, to the Wind Gap. That was as far as the path had been marked for them to walk on, and there was waiting the last collection of people to see if any of the walkers would reach it by sunset. Marshall only halted for the surveyor to give him a pocket compass and started on again. Three Indian runners were sent after him to see that he walked fairly and how far he went. He then passed to the right of Pocono mountain till he reached Stillwater. There he marked a tree, witnessed by three Indians. The distance he had walked between sunrise and sunset, not being on a straight line and about thirty miles of it through the woods, was estimated at about one hundred and ten miles. Yeates died in about three days afterwards; Jennings' health was so much impaired that he died in a few years; but Marshall lived to the age of ninety years at his residence on Marshall's island, in the Delaware, opposite Tinicum."

Mr. Preston stated that he had received this account from Marshall himself. If Mr. Preston was a "venerable" man in 1826, and Marshall lived to be ninety years of age, the latter might easily have told the former of an event that took place in 1733. If there was no mistake on the part of either Marshall or Preston, this fixes the date of the famous walk, which Mr. Errett thinks took place in 1737.

T. J. CHAPMAN.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

ELEVATORS—LIBRARY CARDS.

I remember when passenger elevators were proposed some years ago as a great convenience, if not a necessity, of the times. They who knew all about the matter decided positively that the obstacles to be overcome, and, above all, their great danger, put such proposed contrivances outside the domain of the practical. Elevators are now in general use.

I find the blurred, dirty, dim, irregularly written, title-varying cards of library catalogues a positive nuisance; and my greetings go out in advance to him who, seeing the end through the veil of difficulty, shall find a way, profitably to himself, to abate the nuisance by printed forms, scholarly as to matter and legible as to letters.

J. HILL.

Chicago, September 10, 1888.

To the Editor of THE MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

PRINTED CARD CATALOGUES AGAIN.

Every scheme to assist librarians is worth careful consideration. Printed card catalogues would save much labor and time, and, in my humble opinion, be welcomed not only by librarians but also by all frequenters of libraries.

H. MOELLER.

St. Louis University.

DOCUMENTS.

"ONE OF THE PIONEERS.

"DIED, on Tuesday the 4th of August, at his residence in Robinson township, WILLIAM BAILEY, aged 82 years. The deceased, a native of Ireland, was brought from that country by his parents when a child, and resided with them in Adams county, Pennsylvania, until the spring of 1780, when he emigrated to this county. Shortly after his arrival here, viz. on the 16th of July, 1780, the deceased and four of his neighbours were engaged in reaping, when a company of Indians, about 30 in number, rushed upon them from the woods, shot the four, and took Mr. Bailey prisoner, tied his

hands behind his back, and set off for the Ohio river opposite where Beavertown now stands, where they arrived about 12 o'clock the day after Mr. Bailey had been taken, having kept him near 24 hours without food. During the absence of the Indians, their canoes had been discovered by a scouting party of white men, about 45 in number, who lay in ambush on the opposite bank of the river. The Indians having placed Mr. Bailey in one of the canoes, tied him by the neck to a line of bark drawn across the mouth of the canoe, and set out for the wilderness. When about two-thirds across the river, one of the white men imprudently

discovered himself to the Indians, which caused them to retreat. The white men seeing this, commenced firing upon them, and soon drove them from their canoes into the river. The Indian who had the care of Mr. Bailey left him tied in the canoe exposed to the fire of the white men; he (the Indian) being as Mr. Bailey supposed, wounded in the arm, as he used but one arm in swimming. Mr. Bailey by endeavoring to disengage himself from the canoe caused it to sink, and he being tied to it by the neck, was in the most imminent danger, not only from the firing of the whites, but of being drowned. He, however, kept his head above the water and called for help, which was soon obtained. One of the white men swam to him with a knife between his teeth, and disengaged him from the canoe, and Mr. Bailey being an excellent swimmer, soon arrived safely on shore, where he was joyfully received by the white men, who had so fortunately delivered him from the hands of the bloody savages. Having taken sufficient rest and refreshment, he set out for his residence, where he arrived in safety, and he has resided for upwards of 52 years, respected by all who knew him, as being a faithful friend, a kind husband, an indulgent father, and a good neighbour, and a peaceable citizen, a consistent Christian, and an honest man.—*Washington, Pa. paper.*"

The following extract from a letter from General Daniel Broadhead to Honorable Timothy Pickering, dated Fort Pitt, July 21, 1780, not only confirms the above but throws additional light on the affair:

"A few days ago I received intelligence of a party of thirty odd Wyandot Indians having

crossed the Ohio River, five miles below Fort McIntosh and that they had hid their canoes upon the shore, I immediately ordered out two parties of the nearest militia to go in search of them and cover the harvesters. At the same time Capt. McIntyre was detached with a party to form an ambuscade opposite to the enemy's craft. Five men who were reaping in a field, discovered the Indians and presuming their number was small went out to attack them, but four of them were immediately killed and the other taken before the militia were collected. But they were attacked by Capt. McIntyre's party on the river and many of them were killed and wounded; two canoes were sunk and the prisoner retaken, but the water was so deep our men could not find the bodies of the savages, therefore the number of killed cannot be ascertained. The Indians left in their craft two guns, six blankets, eleven tomhawks, eleven paint bags, eight earwheels, a large brass kettle and other articles. The Indians informed the prisoner that fifteen Wyandots were detached towards Hanna's Town, upon receiving this information another party was immediately detached up the Allegheny River with two Delaware Indians to take their tracks and make pursuit, but as this party is not yet returned I cannot inform you of its success."

I think the above worth preserving in the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY. The notice of the death I found in the tenth volume of 'Hazard's Register;' the name of the Washington paper from which it was taken is not given, but it is certain that William Bailey died August 4, 1832.

ISAAC CRAIG.

Allegheny, Pa., Sept. 5, 1888.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

'THE CAPITALS OF SPANISH AMERICA.' By William Elroy Curtis, late Commissioner from the United States to the governments of Central and South America. Published by Harper & Brothers, New York. Received by the Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland.

As Mr. Curtis spent many years of his boyhood and youth in Ohio, and as he was afterwards editorially connected with the Chicago *Inter Ocean* and other well-known newspapers of the west, he may rightfully be regarded as a neighbor to many of the readers of this magazine, and is probably known by repute to all. It is therefore understood that the author of the work above named has had a preparatory course of training that has prepared him for close observation and a vivid presentation, so that this venture into rather new fields of observation will repay the reader with much more than the bare information he may glean. This elegantly printed and superbly illustrated volume is, in substance, a plea for closer relations between this country and its Spanish-speaking neighbors. Mr. Curtis had occasion to visit the capitals of Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, San Salvador, Costa Rica, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chili, the Argentine Republic, Uruguay, Paraguay and Brazil, being first the secretary and then a member of a special commission sent out by President Arthur to effect more intimate relations between this country and its neighbors to the south. The book describes the people and countries whose trade we desire. The author intimates that the influence of the Catholic Church, or rather ultramontanism, is declining in Spanish America, notably Argentine Republic, Brazil and Chili. In the latter country no Jesuits are tolerated. In Brazil a law was passed in 1870 abolishing monastic institutions. "Parish schools are prohibited," and "no priest

dare wear a cassock in the streets of Mexico;" "no priest, no bishop, is allowed by law to hold real estate; titles vested in religious orders are worthless." It is safe to say that the Catholic Church enjoys greater privileges in the United States than in any Catholic country of respectable magnitude. Even Costa Rica has disestablished the Catholic Church and sent an archbishop beyond the frontier; "the confessional is open and public by law, and the priests are forbidden to wear their vestments in the streets." Mr. Curtis' book describes the capitals, the people and the countries of South America most entertainingly, and is handsome enough for a gift-book.

The illustrations are added with a profuseness that elucidates the text at many points, and are furnished with that liberality that is so characteristic of this great house. Mr. Curtis has done much good work in the field of literature, but has surpassed even his previous efforts in this volume, which becomes, beyond question, a standard text-book of the lands and the people of which it treats.

'A TOUR THROUGH THE SOUTHERN AND WESTERN TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA, THE SPANISH DOMINIONS OF THE RIVER MISSISSIPPI AND THE FLORIDAS, THE COUNTRIES OF THE CREEK NATIONS AND MANY UNINHABITED PARTS.' By John Pope. Multorum, Paucorum, Plurium, Omnium, Interest, Richmond. Printed by John Dixon for the author and his three children, Alexander D. Pope, Lucinda C. Pope and Anne Pope. M,DCC,XCII. Reprinted for Charles L. Woodward, New York, 1888.

John Pope may have been an unconscious humorist, but the man at whose suggestion or by whose desire this quaint and plain-spoken old bit of travel and observation was dug out of the past, is a humorist who must confess and be known of all men. No more decided bit of

character painting was ever penned than has been left us by the author of this 'Tour,' and certainly it is too good to be lost in the dust of a century. We are rapidly led over the ground described in the title, at a time when the Gulf shore and the Floridas were not a part of the United States, and given a glance into a time and some modes of life now near forgotten; and the sharp bits of personal observation that Mr. Pope adds are by no means the least entertaining part of the subject. There is also an historic value to the book; but to be appreciated it must be read—no description can give an idea of its quaintness, oddity and not always to be commended method of plain-spokenness.

'NARRATIVE OF A JOURNEY DOWN THE OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI IN 1789-90.' By Major Samuel S. Forman, with a memoir and illustrative notes by Lyman C. Draper. Cincinnati, Robert Clarke & Co., 1888.

"Every addition to our stock of information touching early western history and adventure, and of the pioneer customs and habits of a hundred years ago, deserves a kindly reception," is Dr. Draper's opening sentence of the excellent memoir of Major Forman, and the key-note to this short and interesting narrative.

General David Forman of New Jersey, on behalf of his brother Ezekiel, under an arrangement with Don Diego de Gardoque, agreed to emigrate with his family and sixty Negroes and settle near Natches. Major Forman accompanied the emigrating party, which set out in November, 1789, their route being through Pittsburgh, thence down the Ohio and Mississippi to their destination; and his little book narrates the incidents of the journey as far as Louisville, where he was left behind in charge of business matters, rejoining his friends later.

Major Forman on his way down the river stopped at L'anse à la Grasse—New Madrid—and gives the following account of the Spanish commandant, Lt. Fourcher, and his reception.

"We made our call at as early an hour as we could. . . . Arrived at the gate (of the fort), the guard was so anxious to trade his tame raccoon

with our men that he scarcely took any notice of us. We went to headquarters; there was little ceremony. When we were shown into the commander's presence, I stepped toward him a little in advance of my friends, and announced my name. I was most cordially and familiarly received. Then I introduced my friends. After a little conversation, we arose to retire, when the commandant advanced near me, and politely asked me to dine with him an hour after twelve o'clock and bring my friends along. I turned to the gentlemen for their concurrence, which they gave, when we all returned to our boats.

"I then observed to my friends that the commandant would expect some present from us—such was the custom—and what should it be? The proposition to fill a barrel with hams and send them at once, was approved and carried into effect.

"At one hour after twelve o'clock, we found ourselves comfortably seated at the hospitable board of the Spanish commandant, who expressed much delight at receiving our fine present. He gave us an elegant dinner in the Spanish style, and plenty of good wine and liquors and coffee without cream. The commandant, addressing me, while we were indulging in the liquids before us, said that we must drink to the health of the ladies in our sweet liquors. 'So,' said he, 'we will drink the health of the Misses Forman'—my worthy cousins, who had preceded us in a visit to this garrison.

"After dinner, the commandant invited us to take a walk in the fine prairies. He said he could drive a coach-and-four through these open woods to St. Louis. There came up a thunder-storm and sharp lightning, and he asked me what I called that in English; and I told him, when he pleasantly observed: 'You learn me to talk English, I will learn you French.' Returning to headquarters, we took tea, and then got up to take our final leave. 'O, no,' said he, 'I can't spare you gentlemen. I'm all alone. Please come to-morrow, one hour after twelve, and dine again

with me.' So, at the appointed time, we were on hand again. The same kind hospitality was accorded us as on the preceding day.

"In the evening, we thought we should surely tender the last farewell. But no; we must come again, for the third day, to enjoy his good company and delightful viands. That evening there was a Spanish dance, all common people making up the company—French, Canadians, Spaniards, Americans. The belle of the room was Cherokee Katy, a beautiful little squaw, dressed in Spanish style, with a turban on her head, and decked off very handsomely. On these occasions a king and queen were chosen to be sovereigns for the next meeting. The commandant was asked to honor them by taking a partner and sharing in the mazy dance, which, of course, he declined; and we also had an invitation, but declined also. The commandant said he always went to these happy gatherings, and sat a little while; and once, he added, he played a little while on his own violin, for his own and their amusement.

"He expressed much regret at parting with us. He said he was so lonesome. He was a man not over thirty, I suppose, highly accomplished, and spoke pretty good English."

The publication is enriched with numerous explanatory and biographical notes by its accomplished editor. Whatever work comes from Dr. Draper's hands is sure to be well executed, and Messrs. Robert Clarke & Co. have done their part with good paper and easily read type. A sufficient "general index," accompanies the narrative.

O. W. COLLET.

'THE PILGRIM REPUBLIC: AN HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE COLONY OF NEW PLYMOUTH; WITH SKETCHES OF THE RISE OF OTHER NEW ENGLAND SETTLEMENTS, THE HISTORY OF CONGREGATIONALISM AND THE CREEDS OF THE PERIOD.' By John A. Goodwin. Published by Ticknor & Co., Boston.

No recent work, and, for that matter, no work that does not pretend to be a history of our Republic, forms so necessary and complete an introduction to or preparation for a proper understanding of that history as this noble volume of six hundred pages and over, in which

the story of the real beginning of our Nation is told. While Mr. Goodwin has modestly termed his work a "Review," it is in fact a very complete and inclusive outline history, in popular form, of the Pilgrims in their English birthplace and early home, how they fared in their Dutch refuge, and their subsequent development on Massachusetts shores into a permanent and, for those times, a far-advanced colony. The subsequent affairs of that Pilgrim Republic and mother-colony of New England are given with considerable fullness down to its enforced merging with the Bay colony in 1692. There is also a great amount of miscellaneous and concurrent information concerning other New England colonies and settlements, the Witchcraft excitement, Philip's war, and the ideas, manners and theological divisions of those and later times, much of which is difficult or well-nigh impossible for the general reader to search out for himself, digest and put into coherent or lucid condensation even for private use. Mr. Goodwin was conversant with everything that pertains to his great theme, and the list of authorities quoted or referred to would almost make a volume by itself. A large number of illustrations and autographs are a part of the work. Deep study and research, aided by a peculiar adaptability for the task, alone made 'The Pilgrim Republic' a possibility. It will become the standard record of the period and people of which it treats.

'JOHN B. FINCH: HIS LIFE AND WORK,' Prepared by Mrs. John B. Finch and Frank J. Sibley, assisted by various contributors. Published by Funk & Wagnalls, New York.

The name of John B. Finch has been long and honorably known in all temperance circles. He held the office of Right Worthy Grand Templar of the I. O. G. T. of the World, was chairman of the Prohibition National committee, and his personal influence was felt in all branches of temperance work. The story of the 'Life of John B. Finch' is one that should interest old and young alike. The boy's struggle for an education; his experience as a teacher; his improvement of every opportunity

and his courage, displayed in countless ways; the development of his natural power as a debater and orator; his early love, marriage and sorrow; the consecration to a life of advocacy of temperance principles; his ability as an organizer, and his diplomatic skill as a peace-maker; his rank and place in the hearts of his co-laborers; his sudden death (October 3, 1887) and the lamentations which followed—all these are simply, yet impressively told in the narrative. Some of his speeches, which exhibit the qualities that gained for him his reputation, are given in full in this book. They present some of the most practical, lucid and effective arguments for temperance that could possibly be laid before the people. A child can understand and perceive their presentation of common-sense reasons in favor of constitutional and statutory Prohibition. More glowing tributes were never paid to a noble life than the eulogies contained in this book, prepared by those who loved to honor him when alive, and to praise him, now dead.

'THE WILDERNESS ROAD: A DESCRIPTION OF THE ROUTES OF TRAVEL BY WHICH THE PIONEERS AND EARLY SETTLERS FIRST CAME TO KENTUCKY.' Prepared for the Filson Club, by Thomas Speed. Filson Club Publications, number two. Published by John P. Morton & Company, Louisville, Kentucky.

'THE PIONEER PRESS OF KENTUCKY: FROM THE PRINTING OF THE FIRST PAPER WEST OF THE ALLEGHANIES, AUGUST 11, 1787, TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DAILY PRESS, IN 1830.' By William Henry Perrin, Filson Club Publications, number three. Published by John P. Morton & Company, Louisville, Kentucky.

The historical work being done by the Filson Club of Kentucky has been already referred to in these pages, and were evidence needed that such work was being done intelligently and to the best public uses, it would be found in the two volumes mentioned above. The themes are those of great historical interest; they are admirably handled, and by men entitled to speak of the matters of which they treat. In one case the fac-similes of the oldest papers, and, in the other, proper maps are presented, in illustration of the text. These collections of the club, issued as they are from time to time, form one of the most valuable historical series being published in the west, and should be preserved in every library, public or private, that is worthy of the name.

'THE STUDY OF POLITICS: AN INTRODUCTORY LECTURE.' By William P. Atkinson, Professor of English and History in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Published by Roberts Brothers, Boston.

As Mr. Atkinson takes care to explain, this valuable little essay, upon a theme in which every American citizen should have more than a passing interest, grew out of an introduction to a course on Constitutional history, given to the junior class at the Institute of Technology, and was read at the Boston Young Men's Christian Union and elsewhere. It is a plain and profitable talk to those who desire to learn something more philosophical in relation to politics than is furnished by the stump or the press. The reputation of Mr. Atkinson as a thinker and a philosopher is such that he may be taken as a wise guide, and his book accepted as sound and wholesome, and as of especial value to the young American voter especially.

'TEN YEARS OF MASSACHUSETTS.' By Raymond L. Bridgman. Published by D. C. Heath & Company, Boston.

The author bases his work upon the ground that a state has never advanced beyond its laws; and endeavors, in a consideration of her legislation for the decade past, to learn what advance Massachusetts has made along the road to a higher civilization. It is an unique method of historical study, and is one of the experiments well worthy of imitation in the case of other states. Mr. Raymond at first gives us a general view of the commonwealth; discusses its constitutional changes, and then he reviews the statutory changes of ten years in the departments of public administration, religious advance, public morals, education, society, life and health, labor legislation, business development and temperance legislation, ending with a general summary of it all. The author has a bias, as all sound men have, but he is fair and honest in his conclusions, and has added a chapter to American social economy that is worth the study it demands. There is much in the book of special interest to Massachusetts, of course, and yet all of it has a general and educational bearing upon our country at large.

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